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ABSTRACT

Deganawidah Quetzalcoatl University (D-QU), the first Native American controlled Indian-Chicano college in America, began operation in 1971 near Davis, California, with the primary objective of facilitating Indian and Chicano self-determination, not only in higher education but in all facets of Indian and Chicano life. Part One is a history of D-QU, detailing events leading to its establishment, its structure, community development projects, and its continuing struggle against the dominant society. A compilation of speeches, interviews, and articles by Native Americans appearing at or associated with D-QU, Part Two includes: "Indian People Need to Control Their own Institutions" (Lois Risling); "My Challenge to You, for Your Consideration in the 80's" (David Risling, Jr.); "The Development of a Native American Intelligentsia and the Establishment of D-Q University" (Jack D. Forbes); "Who's Gonna Hire a Machine Gunner" (Roger Neadeau); "Internal Problems Faced by the D-Q Movement" (Jack D. Forbes, Kenneth R. Martin, David Risling, Jr.); "That's What I Would Like D-QU to Become" (Cipriano Manuel); "Being Indian Is a Spiritual Thing" (Darrell Standing Elk); "It's an Institution That's Based on Freedom" (Norber Dupuis); "Leonard Crow Dog at D-QU"; (Ed McGinty); "Red Power" (Phillip Deere); "Statement about the American Indian Movement" and "We Will Begin the Walk for Survival Across this Country" (Dennis Banks). (NEC)

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Hartmut Lutz
(author & editor)

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D-Q UNIVERSITY

NATIVE AMERICAN SELF-DETERMINATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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D-Q UNIVERSITY
NATIVE AMERICAN SELF-DETERMINATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

by

Hartmut Lutz (author & editor)

Davis: Department of Applied Behavioral
Sciences/Native American Studies
Tecumseh Center, Summer 1980

Dedicated to D-Q University and all people
on the Long Walk for Survival 1980

I am obliged to the Department of Applied Behavioral
Sciences, UC Davis, for financing the pre-publication of this
manuscript in their departmental monograph series.
Thanks for all their generous help.

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PREFACE

This booklet was compiled and written as a present to D-Q University. The idea for it came in September 1979 when, at a Native American Health Conference in San Francisco, people came to the information table set up by Tecumseh Center, wanting information about D-QU, and there was nothing to give to them. The final decision was then made in a conversation with Jack Forbes who felt, not unlike myself, that it would be a waste of time to spend my whole research year in the UC Davis-library, pursuing my own research and writing the larger study, which, originally, I came here to do. So, the first chapter of this book was written, until mid-November, and David Risling, Jr., and Jack D. Forbes handed in the articles included in this collection. Then, for several months, I dropped the project altogether and resumed my own research, waiting for other D-QU people to contribute their own materials.

In late November 1979, Phillip Deere came to D-QU and gave a speech in front of both D-QU and UC Davis students. The speech was taped with his permission, Joe Cattarin, who also transcribed two other taped materials for this study, wrote down the speech, Kathy Tappel typed it, and we sent a copy to Oklahoma, asking Phillip Deere whether we could include it in this study. Unfortunately, Phillip and the people working with him declined our request, saying they wanted to use the speech themselves and that two years ago, while in Geneva, a French journalist had used many speeches and published them, while those who had delivered them were forced to pay for their own food. Trying to understand this answer, but also being still very much interested in including something by Phillip Deere, Jack Forbes came up with the happy solution to quote a non-copyrighted speech by Phillip Deere, that had been published previously. I hope, that this solution will also please Phillip Deere, who has shown his support for D-QU on many occasions.

In April 1980, this project was picked up again. Nobody else had submitted any contributions by then, and so it became much more of a one-man project than I had originally expected. The inadequacies of this booklet, therefore, are all mine. A difference in style and method between the first chapter and the following, has to be understood as a result of the time elapsed and the learning process I had gone through. Instead of digging through archives and reading a lot of theory, I relied almost entirely on information given to me by D-QU people, and I am most grateful to all of them.

The picture given of D-QU is very much that which I encountered when I came here, i.e., as an all-Indian college. I neither had the time nor the contacts to obtain information or contributions from Chicano people, and I hope that Mexican Americans will forgive me this omission, and also, that in the future, somebody better qualified may present a Chicano history and opinion of D-QU.

There were obstacles in the way, which I do not want to leave out altogether in the history of a university dedicated to Truth. There were people, formerly involved in D-QU, who would only give anonymous information. I found anonymous contributions not acceptable in this kind of study, and although I understand and respect their reasons for wanting to remain unknown, I decided to include only interviews, speeches and articles signed by their authors. The more people I asked, the more complex and often confusing the history of D-QU became, and I am sure that I can relate only a segment of it, as is the case in all history-writing. In general, written history is the history of the victorious, those who lasted,

and this book will necessarily be no exception. However, I trust those who gave me information, because I know them to be people dedicated to the advancement of Native Americans, seriously engaged in the battle for the survival of D-QU, and I share their interests.

First of all, I would like to thank David Risling, Jr., who spent hour after hour explaining and answering my questions. He, himself, is the historian of D-QU, but has not had the opportunity to write it down yet. Jack Forbes gave me many ideas for which I am grateful, and his collection of materials on D-QU, part of the Special Collections Department of the UC Davis library, has been the most valuable non-oral source of information. Special thanks to Darrell Standing Elk for allowing me to interview him many times. Roger Neadeau's comments are particularly appreciated, because, in some aspects, they express a dissenting view, and Norbert Dupuis' willingness to relate his own experiences was exceptionally important for this study, showing what else, besides formal education, D-QU is able to do for students. Ed McGinty's story represents the experience of a UC Davis student and shows, for what reasons "outsiders" and young Native Americans are attracted to D-Q. Special thanks, in this place, to Cip Manuel, who not only gave me a long interview, but showed me around the Papago reservation and provided me with an experience I'll never forget and I'll always be grateful for; - here, only those passages of the interview relating to the NALE-project were included. Lois Risling's speech explains some of the reasons, why D-QU must continue to exist, and Dennis Banks' statement about AIM and his speech announcing the Walk for Survival tie D-QU and this booklet in with the larger struggle for Native American self-determination. Both Lois and Dennis warn against the growing war-mentality in the USA right now, voicing a rational, more humane point of view amidst an increasingly hostile and chauvinistic climate. I do hope, that their voices and those of others warning against war will be heard and understood, saving the world from another catastrophe.

Obviously, this book has many authors, and many people have helped to put it together, investing a lot of time and work, particularly Toni Delgado, but also Kathy Tappel, Nancy Sherman, and Joan Learned, who typed the manuscript, and Joe Cattarin who transcribed some of the tapes. Special thanks to Darlys Edwards who typed the whole manuscript on reduction sheets before it was printed. I hope their efforts will prove to have been worthwhile, and that D-QU will continue to exist and thrive in the future.

Davis, May 1980
Hartmut Lutz

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PART ONE

THE HISTORY OF DEGANAWIDAH-QUETZALCOATL UNIVERSITY

INTRODUCTION

Since the very first beginnings of Native American-European contact, the schooling of Indian children by white people has been marked by violence, oppressions, and blatant cultural chauvinism on the white christians' side.

Around the year 1,000 christianized Vikings from Iceland reached the northeastern coast of the Americas. At first, they traded with the Native Americans, then they fought them, killing many, and finally they left, kidnapping two Native American boys. "These two boys they kept with them, taught them their language, and had them baptized."[1] Obviously, the Vikings acted in the belief that European culture and their christian religion were inherently superior to Native American ways, making legitimate - by "civilized" standards - the kidnapping and schooling of indigenous American children. The same belief persisted throughout the next millenium. In 1492 Columbus kidnapped Native Americans, took them back to Spain, and had them "educated" to become slaves. About a hundred years later, up in Virginia, a similar "education" was given to Pocahontas. She was held a hostage by the English invaders, was christened, "refined" into an English lady to be presented at Court in London, and eventually died there.[2]

In 1621, the Pilgrim Fathers, believed to be the peace-loving founders of white America, met a friendly Native American, Tisquantum, who spoke English fluently. He, too, had previously been kidnapped by Englishmen (from "Iames Towne"), had been sold to the Spanish, and had finally made his way back home via England, where he had learned the language as a slave.[3] Similarly, Rev. Eliot's "Praying Indians" in Massachussets, were baptized and stripped of their cultural identity, consecutively leading miserable lives as christian paupers on the fringes of white society. They were forced to denounce their previous way of life, betray their kinfolks, accept European clothing, tools and foods, and to become good, "civilized" christians.[4]

Throughout, it has been the professed goal of white colonial and post-colonial powers to turn Native Americans into brown-skinned "whites." However, this has never worked, and it was never meant to, either. Even when Indians totally realized the goals set for them by their European oppressors, they were never seriously regarded as being equal or possessing basic human rights. In the late 1820's, the Cherokees' level of general education was reputedly higher than their white Georgian neighbors', and their successful economy enabled them to give loans to the Georgia government; in short, they had "outcivilized" the Euroamericans, without, however, giving up their Indian identity.[5] This did not keep the Jackson government from herding the Cherokees together and sending them on the Trail of Tears, where they lost one fourth of their population, nor were they safe in Oklahoma. When Oklahoma was given statehood in 1907, again, the Cherokees, and other people living in "Indian Territory," lost their achievements. Even today, the offsprings of Eliot's "Praying Indians," the Wampanoags of Mashpee, Massachussets, members of the first "civilized" Indian community in North America, are suffering precisely because they adjusted to the demands of white society. In order to maintain their title to some Mashpee lands, they are asked to prove that they are still Indian, not having become white.[6]

No matter whether Native Americans kept their cultural traditions or whether they followed the "white road," they were always treated as non-equals. When white economic

interest so required, they were either regarded as "savages" or were denied their tribal and cultural identity. In fact, those who resisted acculturation most vigorously, were often better off than those who accepted European cultural habits easily. Throughout, European and Euroamerican schooling of Native Americans has been an act of colonial violence, committed against indigenous people, serving the goal of white profit-interest. Throughout history, Indians were kidnapped, locked up, beaten, maimed, retarded and alienated from their people and traditions. They were subjected to the most downgrading humiliation and ridicule and have been victims of crippling physical and psychological violence. The schooling of Native Americans by white agencies has justly been called a form of "cultural genocide." It is still being carried out in the Americas today.[7]

However, throughout the process of enforced acculturation and ideological assimilation, Native Americans have resisted, often hiding their children from the agents of the white school system and educating them at home, led by the guidance of their parents, elders, and spiritual leaders. Due to the Native Americans' adamant resistance against white schooling and the brainwashing of christian churches, much of their rich and varied cultural and religious heritage has been kept alive. Today, their traditions are still there to be taught, not only to Native American children, but to all people who understand the necessity of learning how to survive on our planet.

This study is compiled and written in the belief that DQU is a center where such insights into the harmony and unity of all creation can be taught and are being taught. Moreover, the relatively short history of DQU presents a case study of the fight against colonialism. It shows how difficult it is for the oppressed to preserve unity and cultural identity in spite of massive attacks by an alien and basically hostile system controlling the world they live in.

1. THE SETTING

DQU, the first Native American controlled Indian-Chicano College in America, finally opened its doors on "Deed Day," April 2, 1971. Its establishment continues a long tradition of Native American higher education, dating far back to the Aztec University of Tlatelolco in the 1500's, as well as the foundation of several white-controlled colleges for Indians in North America and the opening of tribally controlled Navajo Community College in 1969. More immediately, the establishment of DQU near Davis, close to the Bay Area, is geographically connected with the people and places surrounding it. Historically, it ties in with the socio-political and cultural developments in the situation of U.S. ethnic minorities in the Sixties.

1.1. Native American Schools and Colleges

From the very start DQU was designed as a joint Indian-Chicano institution, drawing equally on Mexican and North American indigenous educational heritage. This intention is reflected clearly in the "Brief Proposals for Deganawidah-Quetzalocoatl Indian Chicano University," drafted in 1969 by one of its founders, Jack D. Forbes.

1. The Native Tradition
   Higher education (that is to say, learning beyond the levels normally available for the majority of individuals) has been available to American native peoples for many centuries. The ancient Mexicans possessed the *calmecac*, an advanced college or university for the education of religious and secular leaders. The Mayas and Incas possessed centers for advanced leadership training, and each and every native tribe operated more or less informal systems of specialized education. Those individuals who demonstrated special aptitudes and who desired special knowledge were able to attach themselves to teachers who possessed expertise in religion, medicine, philosophy, and other subjects requiring specialization.

   Higher education of this latter kind was self-developed among North Americans before the arrival of the first Europeans. Many Indian people, especially in the Southwest, devoted substantial portions of their lives to the acquisition of advanced knowledge while everywhere the leisure hours of men included frequent attendance at folk "seminars" where the young were able to learn from the discussions and lectures of the old. This type of higher education was distinguished by the fact that it arose from folk-group needs, was ultimately focused upon practical consideration (e.g., learning better how to provide for the well-being of the people), and was carried on within a system free from coercion or from bureaucratic rigidity.

2. The European Invasion
   The coming of the European served gradually to destroy American Indian "folk universities", although the process was a slow and gradual one and is not complete today. "Folk higher education" continues to survive but in relatively isolated areas and it receives neither recognition nor encouragement from white-controlled agencies of government.

   The European invaders took no more than an early and brief interest in native-oriented higher education. In the 1520's certain ones of the Spanish conquerors of Mexico encouraged the development of Santa Cruz del Tlatelolco, an Aztec-oriented university gradually taken over and operated by scholars of Aztec language and ancestry.

   'The Indians at Tlatelolco learnt Latin and theology and they made such rapid progress that within ten years their teachers were able to turn the college over to the Indian alumni. There was a period when pure-blooded Indians were to be found teaching Latin to the sons of Spaniards...and Indian education bore fruit in a number of books, recording the traditions of the Indian races, which were written by persons of Indian descent...(But) the Indians (at Tlatelolco) learnt so rapidly and with such intelligence, it was stated, that only the

devil could be responsible.'

> Tlatelolco college was apparently quite successful, in that the Indian scholars showed remarkable ability at mastering the curriculum offered, rose rapidly to the level of teachers, and contributed greatly to the accumulation of knowledge about ancient Mexican history and society. Unfortunately, the college was suppressed after a few decades because it stood as a contradiction to the exploitative goals of Spanish imperialism (and because doctrinaire European priests were made uneasy by the presence of newly-converted Indians learned in theology and able to dispute the fine points of Christian doctrine). (See Henry B. Parkes, *A History of Mexico*, pg. 92, and C.H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America*, pg. 226-7.)

> In the area of the United States the European invaders took no interest in native-oriented education, focusing instead solely upon the destruction of native culture. Early educational programs for Indian students, such as those at Harvard, William and Mary, and Dartmouth Colleges were aimed entirely at the Europeanization of the natives and had no connection whatsoever with American folk educational traditions. In Virginia, for example, the scientist, Robert Boyle, endowed a "college" (at William and Mary College) for Indian pupils, which was formally chartered in 1792. Instruction commenced about a decade earlier, being essentially the continuation of a very elementary grammar school program initiated at Fort Christianna in 1714 under the leadership of Rev. Charles Griffin.[9]

In general, colonial curricula for the schooling and "civilizing" of Native Americans included no more than the "three R's" and a large amount of religious instruction, designed to break down cultural identity and rendering the victims defenseless to the combined onslaught of European aggression, detribalization, and alcohol.[10] This practice has remained basically unaltered ever since, regardless of whether administered by churches, state institutions, or the BIA. However, in the 1820's, the Cherokees (and their neighbors) of Georgia and the Carolinas established their own schools and academies, operating them successfully until they were forcefully "removed" to Oklahoma Indian Territory. There, once again, they established their own republics with a school system geared to their specific tribal needs but including all relevant "white" skills as well. In 1907 their achievements were thwarted once more by the U.S. government with the BIA taking over their educational facilities. Consequently, the Cherokee standard of education declined, although, even today, numerous scholars and intellectuals of Cherokee descent bear witness to their achievements in education. After the American Civil War the herding together of Native Americans in reservations reached its peak. Many of the treaties signed between indigenous nations and the U.S. government contain special agreements concerning education, usually setting aside some "trust" money, subtracted from the sum to be paid for land cessions, to provide for the establishment of schools, training centers and academies. However, as always with the Indian treaties, the U.S. government did not keep its promises. Instead, Indian Agents usually transferred their didactic obligations to Christian missionaries, who were competing for "claims" on the reservations, eager only to baptize as many "savages" as possible. Consequently, the standard of non-religious instruction remained negligibly low.

> The first extensive federal funding of Indian education was stimulated by the efforts of Richard Henry Pratt, the U.S. Army captain who founded Carlisle Indian School in 1879. Captain Pratt's most important contribution was to convince the public that the Indian was educable.[11]

Following the "success" of Pratt's rigidly controlled off-reservation boarding school, several other Indian "colleges" were established, including Haskell (1884) and Carson (1890). They all sought to implement Pratt's didactic objective: "Kill the Indian, save the man."

Their success was measured by the degree in which they alienated their students from their indigenous cultures and forced them to submit to the cultural and educational demands of the oppressing agent. The relationship between Native American students and their white educators was that of the colonized to the colonizer, whose values they often came to internalize. This resulted in traumatic culture shocks, literally killing many Native American children and vividly remembered by all who experienced it. Luther Standing Bear's account may serve as an example:

> At last at Carlisle the transforming, the "civilizing" process began. It began with clothes. Never, no matter what our philosophy or spiritual quality, could we be civilized while wearing the moccasin and blanket. Our accustomed dress was taken and replaced with clothing that felt cumbersome and awkward. Against trousers and handkerchiefs we had a distinct feeling--they were unsanitary and the trousers kept us from breathing well. High collars, stiff-bosomed shirts, and suspenders fully three inches in width were uncomfortable, while leather boots caused actual suffering... Then, red flannel undergarments were given us for winter wear, and for me, at least, discomfort grew into actual torture. I used to endure it as long as possible, then run upstairs and quickly take off the flannel garments and hide them...Of course, our hair was cut, and then there was much disapproval. But that was part of the transformation process and in some mysterious way long hair stood in the path of our development...Almost immediately our names were changed to those in common use in the English language. Instead of translating our names into English and calling Zinkcaziwin, Yellow Bird, and Wanbli K'leska, Spotted Eagle, which in itself would have been educational, we were just John, Henry, or Maggie, as the case might be. I was told to take a pointer and select a name for myself from the list written on the blackboard. I did, and since one was just as good as another, and as I could not distinguish any difference in them, I placed the pointer on the name Luther. I then learned to call myself by that name and got used to hearing others call me by it, too. By that time we had been forbidden to speak our mother tongue, which is the rule in all boarding schools...Of all the changes we were forced to make, that of diet was doubtless the most injurious, for it was immediate and drastic. White bread we had for the first meal and thereafter, as well as coffee and sugar. Had we been allowed our own simple diet of meat, either boiled with soup or dried, and fruit, with perhaps a few vegetables, we should have thrived. But the change in clothing, housing, food, and confinement combined with lonesomeness was too much, and in three years nearly one half of the children from the Plains were dead and through with all earthly schools. In the graveyard at Carlisle most of the graves are those of little ones.[12]

Many Carlisle graduates were too brainwashed to ever openly criticize their school, whereas for some others it meant that they became even the more determined to resist acculturation.[13] None of the Carlisle-type institutions was designed for higher academic education. Instead, they taught some basic school subjects, gave "social skills training" and apprenticed the students to jobs totally irrelevant for life on reservations. Day- and boarding schools, on- and off-reservation schooling, provided by churches, states or federal agents existed side by side, and the education of Native Americans remained deplorable. Academic success or a career in the white world were invariably purchased at the expense of total alienation from tribal life. In any case, white racism could only tolerate a very few "token" Indians "to make it", whereas the majority of Native Americans never had a chance to receive decent schooling, nor were they willing to be "successful" under these circumstances. (An attitude aptly summed up in a present graffiti on a wall at Tecumseh Center, UCD: "Remember, even if you win the rat race, you're still a rat.")

In the 1930's, under the Collier administration and after the publication of the Merriam Report, certain reforms were envisioned and put into practice, but improvements for Native Americans remained negligible. Indian Schooling and Higher Education programs administered by white agencies remained (and still remain) useless. Even the most perceiving, well-

wishing, and tolerant program developed and carried out by white government officials is paternalistic at best. Without real Native American self-determination in educational (and other) matters, schooling and higher education for Native Americans would continue to be an abortive endeavour.

1.2. Federal Indian Policies and Educational Programs in the Sixties and Seventies

> The Sixties, perhaps basking in the light of aggressive civil rights movements spearheaded by Blacks and Chicanos, brought another wave of hope and progress to Indian education.[14]

The last twenty years have seen more drastic changes in federal Indian general and educational policies than any period before. The Termination Policy (HCR 108) of the mid-fifties failed utterly. In March, 1957, a Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian, was set up by the Fund of the Republic, Inc., in order to provide "a fresh, up-to-date appraisal of the status of the Indians."[15] The commission was expected to produce evidence for the success of the termination idea, but instead, its summary report on education, published in 1961, listed some devastating results of all current and previous policies regarding Indian Education. It showed clearly that, still, Indian education was far below the national average and that BIA schools were particularly bad. One of the report's strongest arguments was for more Indian self-determination in educational matters:

> ...the support of the Indian community, its neighbors, and tribal and local government officials should be enlisted.[16]

In a report expected to supply arguments to support the termination of tribal structures and Indian autonomy, such proposals are very surprising indeed. In general, the results showed that initially Indian pupils often start off school more successfully than white children, but that they fall further and further behind the longer they stay in schools after the fifth grade. Other reports indicate the same tendency. Obviously, to many Indian children, there seems to be little sense in gaining a higher education once they come to realize the difference between their tribal traditions and the values of the colonialist society surrounding them. A decision for higher education may in fact often be a decision against the mores and values of their own people. The college drop-out rate of 60 percent for Native American students indicates a similar dilemma.[17]

However, despite the miserable condition of Indian affairs in general and in spite of all plans to "terminate" Indian tribes, the "Declaration of Indian Purpose," drawn up at the American Indian Chicago Conference in June, 1961, strongly asserts the goal of national Indian self-determination, an objective pursued by Indian people ever since.

In May, 1964, in anticipation of the Economic Opportunity Act, the Council on Indian Affairs convened in Washington and held the American Indian Capital Conference on Poverty, thus drawing attention to Indian poverty and demanding the inclusion of Native Americans in President Johnson's "War on Poverty." A year later, the Economic Opportunity Act was passed, and for the first time larger non-BIA-controlled funds became available to Indians. The Head Start Program, in particular, was designed to give Native Americans educational opportunities equal to those of the majority. Without changes in school and college curricula, however, the drop-our rate remained as high as ever for Native American students. Yet, the Washington conference was also important in another aspect: "Red Power" gained publicity.

Mel Thom, spokesman of the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) spoke out firmly against integration and assimilation, and demanded more political power for Indian tribes and communities, asking Indians to work more closely together on a pan-tribal national level.

> We must recognize and point out to others that we do want to live under better conditions, but we want to remember that we are Indians. We want to remain Indian people. We want this country to know that our Indian lands and homes are precious to us. We never want to see them taken away from us...
>
> Indian tribes need greater political power to act. This country respects power and is based on the power system. If Indian communities and Indian tribes do not have political power we will never be able to hang on to what we have now...
>
> We have to cooperate and learn to work together. [18]

These ideas anticipated much of what was to come in the later sixties: a rise of Indian cultural and historical awareness and pride, and a greater readiness to fight for self-determination. In some cases, even groups of white people and some minority groups supported these demands. In 1969, for example, the Citizens' Advocate Center published its report *Our Brother's Keeper*,[19] drawing maximum attention to the total failure of all previous white policies "for" the Indians. One chapter, aptly entitled "Education as War," gave some shattering statistics on Indian schooling. In many instances, the book drew on the hearings of the Special Subcommittee on Indian Education (of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare), whose report was published at about the same time. Entitled "Indian Education: A National Tragedy and Challenge," it presented a most scathing self-criticism of white educational programs for Native Americans.[20]

The second part of the report contained a detailed catalogue of recommendations, all arguing for more self-determination. Regarding higher education, the report suggested drastic improvements in the granting of BIA scholarships. It also called for the establishment of Native American Studies programs and institutions, and for more Indian community colleges; it proposed special recruiting and orienting programs for Indian students and suggested the inclusion of Indian higher education programs in Title III (Developing Institutions) of the Higher Education Act, thus taking some power away from the incompetent BIA. Also, it argued for the support of BIA programs by funds from the Higher Education Act (1965) and the Vocational Education Act (1963). All in all, the report was a severe blow against the BIA, exposing its previous mismanagement.

It paved the way for fundamental changes in federal Indian policies, leading towards President Nixon's reversal of the disastrous Termination Policy in July, 1970, as well as to his establishing an all-Indian Special Subcommittee of The National Council on Indian Opportunity, to analyze Indian Education in particular. The first report of that committee, *Between Two Milestones*, was published two years later on November 30, 1972.[21]

On June 23, 1970, the "Indian Education Act" (Public Law 92-318) better known as "Title IV" was passed as part of the "Elementary School Assistance Act". It was, in reality, an ammendment to previous acts of Congress, now to include provisions for Native American education and to transfer some of the obligations of the BIA to the Office of Education (of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare). This transfer was not, however, welcomed by all Native Americans, because in it they saw a move similar to termination practices, ending the special relationship between tribes and the BIA. The practical enactment of the new policy would have to prove how it would affect Indian people. A Special Office of Indian Education was established in the Office of Education. Also, the Act provided for a permanent, all-Indian

National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) its fifteen members to be appointed by the President of the United States from lists of nominees submitted by Indian communities. Several provisions concerned the implementation of proposals made by the 1969 report and regarded its funding. The final section defined whc was considered to be an "Indian" by the act. It upheld previous BIA and non-BIA definitions of this 'term', but it also allowed for the inclusion of individuals not previously regarded as Indians, provided the National Advisory Council on Indian Education made proposals to the Commissioner. In March, 1974, NACIE submitted its first report[22], concurring with most recommendations made in *Indian Education: A National Tragedy and Challenge* and *Between Two Milestones*, and making additional recommendations of their own, e.g. for the further advancement of Indian community colleges.

Summing up and surveying the development of Federal provisions for Indian education in the Sixties and Seventies, the general increase in public concern about the deplorable state of BIA schooling is most apparent. All suggestions and programs for change point in the direction of what will eventually be total and absolute Indian self-determination and self-management in educational (and general) matters. Although government proposals and policies still seem to operate on the tacit assumption that Indian education will eventually serve to provide Native Americans with contents and standards equal to general main-stream education, the full realization of Indian self-determination in educational matters must also allow for curricula and methods following other ultimate goals. The future of Indian educational practice will show how liberal and democratic federal agencies are prepared to become with regards to Native American education.

Finally, it must be remembered that the years of these far-reaching improvements in Indian education policies also saw a growing discontent among Indian and other oppressed groups in the U.S.A., and many changes are only the necessary governmental reactions to the mounting pressure and unrest coming from the oppressed themselves: fish-ins, the Pit-River resistance, Alcatraz, the BIA-occupation, Wounded Knee 1973, and many, many other instances of Indian resistance have forced the government to listen to Native American complaints and to make most urgent adjustments in Indian policy. However, already now, at the turn of the decade, there are many moves and initiatives on the white establishment side to counteract recent improvements. Again, this development ties in with the history of Federal Indian policy over the last two-hundred years; a continual stop-and-go, a crazy backward-and-forward jerking between total understanding and oppression, between cultural genocide and self-determination. The example of DQU confirms this practice.

1.3. California Indians and Mexicans

The "Brief Proposal for DQU" contains an introductory survey of the Indian and Chicano population of the United States:

> In the United States today there are aproximately seven to eight million persons of predominantly Native American descent, of whom about one million are 'Indians' descended from tribes native to the United States area and the balance are 'Mexican-Americans' or Chicanos descended from tribes native to regions south of the present international boundary or from tribes native to the Southwest (Aztlan).
>
> The Indian and Chicano peoples possess a great deal in common aside from their common racial origin. First, they both possess cultural traditions of what might be called a 'folk' nature. Second, they both possess cultures and values quite different from the dominant society. Third, they both have little desire to 'assimilate' and instead seek to retain their unique identities, languages, etc. Fourth, they both suffer from an extreme degree of neglect and discrimination, being literally at the

> bottom of all indexes relative to education, employment, income, life expectancy, etc. Fifth, they both have been denied higher educational opportunities and, in sharp contrast to the Black Community, do not possess their own universities and do not receive federal support in any way comparable to that received by Black colleges and universities.[23]

This statement, written in the earnest endeavour to create a joint Chicano-Indian alternative to Anglo Higher Education, stresses many important parallels in the Indian and Chicano experience, but there are also some major differences standing in the way of unity, particularly in California. The history of DQU itself seems to indicate that the time has not yet come for the oppressed people of Native American descent to work together harmoniously.

California Indians, totaling approximately 90,000 today, are subdivided into many relatively small, autonomous tribal groups and communities. All of them suffered greatly under the Spanish and Mexican rule of California, particularly the so-called "Mission Indians", who worked as christianized slaves on the mission fields. Most of all, California Indians suffered from the gold rush of 1849 and the Anglo rule of California, an experience they shared in varying degrees with their former oppressors of Spanish and Native American descent. Euroamericans devastated California, raped Indian women and enslaved and killed their men.[24] Those who survived the guns fell victim to diseases, starvation, and alcoholism; and in a short thirty-year period the Indian population of California went down from over 100,000 in 1848 to a mere 16,000 in 1880.[25]

At present, the indigenous peoples are herded together on 83 small reservations and minute rancherias mostly scattered along the coastal mountain range, whereas the rich farmlands of the Sacramento River Valley are void of Indian settlements.[26]

The area around the present site of DQU is particularly anti-Indian; the closest Rancheria, Rumsey, a tiny 66 acre reserve with only twenty residents, is approximately 40 miles to the northwest, whereas all other surrounding counties have no rancherias or reservations at all. Other Indian communities or tribes never ceded their lands in treaties and do not possess officially established reservations. The Pit River Nation, for example, a federation of several smaller bands and tribes, have ancestral rights to a large area in the northeast of California bordering on Nevada. This area is presently held by large corporations (PG&E, Southern Pacific Railroad, Hearst Publications) and local farmers, interspersed by a few tiny rancherias, some of them not even inhabited by Indian residents. The Pit River people are still fighting to reclaim their tribal territories never ceded in any treaty.[27]

At the same time, there are large Indian communities in urban ghettos, particularly around Los Angeles and the Bay Area, most of them having come to the cities from outside California during the Relocation Program. At present, California is the state with the largest Indian population in the U.S., mainly due to the many urban Indians. The so-called 'militant', pan-Indian movements like UNA (United Native Americans) and AIM recruited their early supporters predominantly from urban groups, and the occupation of Alcatraz in 1969 was--among other things-- a manifestation of pan-Indianism in California and the desire of Native Americans to establish a pan-Indian, independent cultural and educational center. So, despite traditional tribal autonomy and diversity, and despite the additional division between reservation and urban ways of life, there are common goals, particularly in the educational field.

> The history of the Mexican American minority is unlike that of any other American minority group. The only close parallel is with the American Indians, and even there we can find only a few similarities. Mexican Americans *became* a minority not by immigrating or being brought to this country as a subordinate people, but by being conquered.[28]

Both Chicanos and Indians are internally colonized people with regards to the Anglo-Americans, but for a long time, Indians had also been colonized by the ancestors of today's Chicanos, and there was a period of fierce fighting between Mexicans and Indians, particularly the Apache people. In itself, the Mexican American population of California is not a unified, homogeneous group either. On the one hand, there are the decendants of Spanish Californians, then there are Mexicans who have lived in California for only a few generations; and, finally, there are the so-called "wetbacks", immigrant farm workers from Mexico, who come each summer to work legally or illegally on the farms of the San Joacquin and Sacramento Valley - also immediately around DQU. All of them share a deep distrust of Anglo-Americans, under whose oppression they have suffered for over a century, no matter whether they were Spanish *rancheros* heavily taxed by the Anglo government, whether Mexican workers exploited by Anglo farmers and capitalists, or whether today's illegal Chicano immigrants, harassed by Anglo police forces. Those of them who went through the State school system became particularly victimized in a colonial situation in 1855 when a California State law forbade the use of Spanish in school instruction. This kind of discrimination and cultural genocide turned the Mexican Americans into the educationally most deprived and disadvantaged group next to the Indians - Stan Steiner rightfully calls the process "de-education."[29]

Educational statistics show clearly that Mexican Americans are far behind the majority, especially in higher education.[30] The language barrier and social and cultural inequality separating Mexican children from their Anglo peers often leads to their being classified as "mentally retarded."[31] Despite the *de facto* low standard of Mexican American education, there is a great demand for higher education among the young. But colleges and universities remain closed to most Mexican American students because of the de-education process they have undergone.

Another common experience to Indians and Mexican Americans is the move from the country to the large cities, 80 percent of Californian Chicanos living in the urban areas. Again, as with the American Indians, it was mainly in the urban areas where "militant" Chicano groups like the Black Berets gained their strongest support. On the other hand, there is today the United Farm Workers' Union, organized by Cesar Chavez among the California *campesinos*. This is clearly a political organization, gearing socialist theories and trade union traditions to the unique situation of Chicanos, but drawing more heavily on "European" socialist or Marxist ideas then on traditional Native American *weltanschauung*. It is difficult to ascertain any proportional numbers, but at present it seems that the influence of Mexican Americans actually aware and proud of their Indian heritage and trying to go back to their Indian roots is not very strong when compared to the power of integrationist or Chicano nationalist groups. Nevertheless, even the Black Berets in their 12 Point Program call for a united struggle of all oppressed minorities, "Puerto Rican, Black, Indian, and Asian brothers in the U.S.A.", because "*No Chicano Is Free Until All Oppressed People Are Free!*" Regarding education the 12 Point Program states:

> We want a true education of our Mestizo culture and Spanish language. We want an end to the cultural genocide perpetuated by the American educational system against Chicanos. We must be taught about our ancestors truthfully. Pancho Villa and Zapata were Revolutionaries, not bandits. Spanish is our language and must be taught as so. Our culture, a revolutionary Culture is the only true teaching. *Viva Nuestra Cultura Mestiza!*[32]

What is true of Indian educational goals is also true for the Chicanos: without total Chicano self-determination there will be no improvements.

In part this problem of decolonization can be attacked through the creation of alter-

native institutions designed for and controlled by Chicanos. However, there is no way of constructing self-contained Chicano educational, economic, or political systems, so that successful decolonization will depend on producing far-reaching changes in the institutions of the larger society. Since it is doubtful that Chicanos can mobilize the necessary political strength to produce such adjustments on their own, there will eventually have to be coalitions and alliances formed with other groups interested in change. It may well be that a true decolonization of the Third World peoples within the United States will require a radical transformation of the structures of this society.[33]

At an overall glance, from an outsider's point of view, the situation of Indians and Chicanos is both different and very similar at the same time. Both are internal colonized minorities, both have similar cultural and racial backgrounds, both are the most disadvantaged groups of the U.S. population, and both see the need for more self-determination in political and educational matters in order to improve their present situation. Obviously, the founders of DQU saw these similarities very clearly and worked with them. But whereas many Chicano organizations see their struggle for liberation and self-determination as part of a world-wide anti-imperialist fight against exploitation and oppression necessitating fundamental revolutionary changes in dominant societies, Indian traditionalists approach the problem quite differently. Intent on following their own spiritual ways, they see their struggle as separate from that of the Blacks, Asians, Puerto Ricans, and Chicanos. They insist on their own unique political, cultural, and racial identity; and they maintain that only by going back to their own roots and by reviving their "de-educated" tribal traditions can they overcome their present dilemma, which to them is more a spiritual than an economic one. Highly suspicious of European philosophies and teachings, they discard both Marxism and christianity, and insist on following their own path. The founders of DQU concentrated on the parallels between both groups, and they welcomed the Chicanos' willingness to join in the international and transcultural solidarity of the oppressed. However, even according to socialist ideas about colonialism, cultural nationalism precedes the anti-colonialist struggle for liberation. To start a fight for self-determination by tying together two distinct goups like these with different philosophies is a very difficult endeavour indeed.

1.4. The California Indian Education Association and Other Initiatives In California

Earliest dreams of and plans for the establishment of an all-Indian university preceded the foundation of the California Indian Education Association (CIEA) in 1967/68. However, the realization of these plans and dreams was made possible only after having the CIEA as a strong, statewide and federally respected organization to back them up. Therefore, to understand what made DQU a reality, one must learn about the CIEA, its history, and its objectives. Also, the CIEA has become a model for the establishment of similar organizations in other states, as well as for the founding of the National Indian Education Association in 1970. Moreover, the first CIEA chairman, Dave Risling, is also the present chairman of the DQU Board of Directors. Similar double functions are held by Jack D. Forbes, co-founder of both the CIEA and DQU; and Sarah Hutchison, active CIEA member and first woman of the DQU Board - and there are others.

Finally, it ought to be mentioned that the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC; c.f. chapter 4.2., p. 39f.) was also initiated by CIEA members and that the CIEA chairman served on the 15 member, all-Indian National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE), mentioned previously (p. 8f.). Nothing has been printed in English about the far reaching activities of the CIEA, excepting a few publications about their annual conferences; and little is publicly known about them, but the important influence the CIEA had on changes in laws and regulations

concerning Indian education during the last twelve years can hardly be stressed strongly enough. The organization does a great amount of silent and unspectacular work, but its effects make themselves felt in the establishment of Native American Studies Centers at colleges and universities and in the foundation of DQU and other educational projects for Native American people.

Fortunately, in recent years, Indian Survival Schools have received a very considerable amount of internatic nal attention[34] but as long as their numbers remain necessarily small, all the other Native American students attending public, mission, and BIA schools, as well as colleges and universities, must be helped. It is to them, first and foremost, that the work of the CIEA has been and still is directed.

In 1966, the California State Advisory Committee on Indian Affairs submitted a report to the governor and legislature, calling for a conference on Indian education.[35] Funds were made available, and in March of the following year an Indian Education Conference was held at Stanislaus College, California. As always on such occasions, the majority of attendants were white people, but the share of Indians was unusually high - 30 percent! During the conference, the Indian participants met regularly before and after the seminars and founded an all-Indian Ad Hoc Committee on California Indian Education, in order to have a Native American organization in California to follow the conference proposals and to get more Indian parents, educators, and grass-roots people organized in a pressure group for the implementation of changes in Indian education.

In October, 1967, they held their first all-Indian Statewide Conference on California Indian Education.[36] The importance of this conference cannot be overemphasized; it was literally the very first get-together of approximately 150 California Indians, prepared, organized, and conducted exclusively by Native Americans. For the first time in the history of the State of California, Indian parents were discussing the basic problems facing their children in white-dominated schools, without white educators and other "specialists on Indians" interfering and without fear of being misinterpreted by outsiders. They convened in both formal general sessions as well as in eight smaller seminar groups to discuss a set of questions drawn up by the Ad Hoc Committee. Finally, they presented their answers and proposals to the general meeting. All the findings of the seminar groups were amazingly similar, often identical. Moreover, they are representative for all Native American children attending white-run schools - in fact, they are typical, in almost every aspect, of the situation of children of any oppressed people in an internal or external colonial supremacist setting.

> Delegates felt that a large part of school achievement is based on the "self-image" of a child and that this can be damaged or destroyed by classmates and teachers who are ignorant or scornful of Indian cultural values and contributions which Indians have made to the enrichment of western civilization.
>
> Among agreed upon factors are these: Teachers do not understand the adjustment problems of Indian children to classroom situations. There is little communication between the teacher and the parents: The parents rarely visit the school except when they come to the teacher or administrator when upset about some serious problem. In turn, the teacher rarely familiarizes himself with the actual home situation of the Indian pupil, resulting in severe misunderstandings, including schoolwork assignments which the pupil finds impossible to carry out in his normal home environment, or which have little practical relationship to his home life. The majority of textbooks contain almost nothing about the character of Indian cultures prior to the coming of the white man. Rural schools have little available in audio-visual and library materials to make Indian history and his culture vivid and intriguing to all students. It is desirable for the entire educational structure to be aware that, though basic differences exist between Indian and non-Indian cultures, these are not necessarily bad, but can be used to make human

interaction more meaningful and successful for all children. Indian parents need to become more vigorously involved with the schools and school problems, as well as with the community at large. They need to identify and preserve and disseminate information about their cultural heritage. Many parents need to improve their behavioral patterns if they expect others to have a good image of them. This is essential for their children's self-respect especially. Parents should cooperate with teachers and other interested people or organizations interested in learning about Indians.[37]

In going through the individual group reports, the non-Indian outsider will be most impressed by the severe self-criticism the Indian parents inflicted upon themselves. Instead of taking the easier way and blaming the failure of most students on white racism and cultural chauvinism - an approach that would have been fully justified in my opinion - they accused themselves of providing bad examples for their children, making pupils feel ashamed of their heritage. Again and again, they admonished Indian parents to show more interest in the schooling of their children, to go out and talk to white teachers, to invite them to their homes, and to become involved in PTAs and other activities, despite all financial, cultural, spatial, linguistic, white racist, and other physical and psychological obstacles.[38] Only after having explored all possible weaknesses in the attitude of Indians themselves did the participants concentrate on the shortcomings of the system itself and drew up concrete proposals for necessary changes. Also, it became quite obvious that the disadvantages of Indian children in public or predominantly white schools cannot be pinned down to one or two isolated causes, such as inadequate teacher training, biased textbooks, or language problems. Rather, they form a syndrome, combining many symptoms that are caused by the colonial situation in which seemingly unimportant things may become unproportionally overwhelming. For example, there is the extreme poverty of the oppressed, where the lack of a decent pair of trousers or even a pair of tennis shoes without holes evolves into an insuperable, finally existential problem for a minority child, who is exposed to ridicule by white classmates--similar obstacles often keep Indian parents from attending PTA meetings.

Combined with the negative self-image, which the colonizers often manage to implant in the minds of the oppressed - "dirty, drunken Indians" in a self-fulfilling-prophecy situation - combined with the pain of hunger, with the physical exhaustion of overlong ways to school, with the tiredness of one who sleeps in a room with many others and has to get up early though others may have kept him or her awake for a long time, combined with the alienation from parents and their culture and confronted with the blatant racism of some teachers or with the well-meaning but condescending paternalism of others, the Indian child finds him-or herself battling against overpowering odds which finally defeat all intellectual eagerness, all buoyant and tough physical skill and all sensitive creativity, leading to apathy and "delinquent" behavior. Gradually, the vicious circle of poverty - inferior educational chances - inferior educational achievements - unemployment or low-paid menial jobs - poverty, intensified from outside influences of discrimination, oppression and racism - begins to choke the child, never to let go of the student until the day she or he may leave school, or drop out, or commit suicide, withdrawing from a place of continued humiliation and frustration.

The same problems persist for the very, very few Indian students who actually make it into college, where all too often they are "not expected to last through Thanksgiving." It is this kind of colonialist educational situation which was discussed in March, 1968, and the CIEA set out immediately to implement changes for the better. The Ad Hoc Committee became a permanent organization, and the short history of the CIEA has been one of total commitment,

crowned by several great successes and unstopped by several defeats ever since. A very few examples may serve to illustrate this:

In 1968 the CIEA and individual members began pressuring colleges and universities to establish Native American Studies (NAS) programs or departments. Several institutions followed these proposals and actively sought the support and the expertise of CIEA to help them in setting up the appropriate centers. By 1978 fifteen different colleges and universities in California offered NAS programs - more than any other federal state.[39] On the other hand, the "proliferation" of NAS programs in California went against a State resolution to establish and fund only two major centers for NAS, one in the Northeast and one in the Southwest.[40] Consequently, funding became more dispersed and less "concentrated" for the individual institutions.

Other long-term activities of the CIEA include: involvement in the foundation of United Native Americans (UNA), assistance in founding the California Indian Legal Serivce (both in 1968), defeating laws considered unfavorable to Indian education, developing and implementing various teacher education programs, and direct involvement in the occupation of Alcatraz (all in 1969). In 1970 the National Indian Education Association (NIEA) was founded, for which the CIEA served as a model; and in the same year the association started negotiating for a 640 acre surplus land site near Davis to establish DQU.

The final establishment of DQU on "Deed Day," April 2, 1971, was probably the greatest event in the history of CIEA. In subsequent years, much of the association's energies were put into DQU. All the while, however, the CIEA continued to work in the various other fields, such as the NICE Project (Northern Indian California Education) at Humboldt State College,[41] the support of the Indian Education Act Bill, fund-raising, counseling and planning activities, sponsoring meetings on local and state levels, and involvement with individual schools and Indian centers and NAS programs (the Indian student college enrollment in California increased from 92 in 1967 to over 2,400 in 1972). After the establishment of DQU and other Indian-controlled institutions of higher education, DQU and others became instrumental in founding AIHEC, the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, designed to coordinate these initiatives in a more powerful national organization (c.f. p. 39f. of this study.).

From the beginning, the CIEA was basically a grass-roots organization, taking direction from the Indian communities and individuals immediately involved in education as students, parents, and educators. Throughout, it was also involved in political and social struggles of Indian groups and communities, such as Alcatraz, UNA, legal defense services, and Indian education and religion in state penitentiaries. Another important Indian organization involved with Indian higher education in California, the Indian Historian Press, concentrates more on reaching Indian leadership and the academic elite. The Indian Historian Press is basically a two-person-run organization (Jeannette Henry Costo and Rupert Costo). In 1970 it organized the First Convocation of Indian Scholars at Princeton, and in the subsequent year the Second Convocation at Aspen, Colorado.[42] Both conferences included several panels and presentations regarding Indian education. Roger Buffalohead (below) concentrated on NAS programs, raising many questions and issues still present today, e.g. the problem of factionalism amongst Indian groups and individuals and the "use" of NAS programs by large universities as a means to attract sepcial funds: obviously, any NAS program that is part of a larger department is at a disadvantage when compared to NAS programs with independent department status.

Some of the problems discussed at Princeton involved the very fundamental political

decisions, triggered off by the involvement of many students in political actions outside the universities, e.g. the occupation of Alcatraz. The question discussed was whether NAS would allow students to really become self-determining, politically autonomous individuals and activists, or whether political activism should be discouraged in favor of a more traditional (European) ivory-tower doctrine of scholarly excellence. Some of the statements reflect this concern, e.g. the comments by Roger Buffalohead:

> What also occurred at UCLA was that we got the students very much involved indeed, as you probably know. The students all departed for Alcatraz. Here then another question was raised. If you are going to teach students to be involved and to be activists, ..., can you then draw a line and say to them: You've got to come back from Alcatraz and learn your lessons...
> I couldn't really say to them, after I had insisted that it was good to be involved in such activities as Alcatraz, "well, you know this is not really education." It is education indeed, and it was education to go to Alcatraz. [43]

And Beatrice Medicine saw the Indian struggle for self-determination in higher education as part of a much larger fight including other oppressed groups:

> The whole movement was part of the Third World Movement, in which the colored minorities in the United States would have more relevant education. So indeed, in many of the California universities and colleges, there was a deliberate effort to recruit Indians for directorships, and then have them work with students. But as you know, it's very hard to get qualified professors to go into such programs. This was the original objective, to make education more relevant for Chicanos, Blacks and Indians. The Indians just came in sort of as a red backlash.[44]

The comments show the dilemma of NAS programs in general. On the one hand, they are part of a Euro-system, measuring scholarship and "educatedness" by standards other than those aimed at by Indians themselves; on the other hand, the establishment of NAS was regarded as only one part of Third World Studies. In both cases, involvement in grass-roots activities of Native American communities outside the universities and unhampered by academic regulations, was extremely difficult, if not impossible. As long as NAS remained dependent on other departments and on a system run by a basically eurocentric group of academics, there was little chance of its being able to help any movements or activities that might be contrary to the values cherished by a eurocentric academic establishment. One anonymous speaker in the Princeton discussions saw this problem very clearly and suggested a radically different function of NAS in- and outside white universiites;

> I'm thinking of a Native Studies Program, but taking it out of the university and placing it within the community. You would work side by side with a central program in a university.[45]

This kind of set-up was eventually adopted by the founders of DQU, providing ties with both the Chicano and Indian community and being linked with the Native American Studies Program, Tecumseh Center, at the University of California at Davis.

Comparing the CIEA conference reports and the reports on the Convocations of Indian Scholars by the Indian Historian Press, the difference between the two is striking. CIEA is much more a grass-roots organizations, based in Indian communities and taking up issues of California Indians on the spot. The Convocations, on the other hand, were primarily academic gatherings, bringing together the expertise and scholarship of an Indian "elite."

In my ideas, the CIEA comes much closer to the ideal of self-determination as

a development of the people, by the people, and for the people. In the CIEA publications, there is much less talk about leadership, guidance, and scholarly expertise. This does not, however, make the CIEA an academically less qualified lay organization. On the contrary, the establishment and successful support of DQU and the involvement in top-rank decision making bodies like the National Advisory Council on Indian Education show that the CIEA is equally successful on both levels. The Indian Historian Press, on the other hand, seems more oriented towards academic excellence and "ivory" - it does not mention DQU in its publications nor invites CIEA speakers - in general - to its conferences. Both kinds of organizations, however, could exist peacefully side by side, complementing each other. The antagonism between them seems to me to be another example of one of the greatest dangers to the Native American struggle for self-determination as described by Roger Buffalohead above: factionalism. However, this is no danger unique to Indian organizations alone. The "failure" of Europeans to unite, for example, shows similar characteristics. It has to be expected when peoples and people of different nationalities, tribal customs and traditions, languages and locale, try to unite in a joint effort, no matter whether their nations may be small tribes of a hundred individuals or national states of millions. The danger of "Indian factionalism," then, seems to be a eurocentric concept, stemming from the notion that all Indians are basically alike and should therefore be able to get along together. It is no greater than the danger of "European factionalism," the difference being one of quantity, not of quality.

1.5. Native American Studies Programs at the University of California at Davis and elsewhere

A few reasons for the establishment of Native American Studies (NAS) Programs have already been given in preceeding paragraphs, and some of the problems involved have been discussed. Native American Studies were set up at a time when Black Studies, Chicano Studies, and Asian American Studies were established in various places, and, obviously, without the fight of the respective minorities for self-determination in education, no "ethnic studies" would have come into existance at all. However, the concept and term "ethnic studies" is very misleading, expressing an eurocentric point of view. In fact, "ethnic studies" have been there all the time, but reserved to European studies. since the establishment of Harvard and Boston public schools, white Americans have had their own type of "ethnic studies": Institutions for the teaching of European culture and history, arts and science. European ethnic studies are carried out explicitly in the numerous English, French, or German departments, and implicitly, they are taught in all other academic disciplines, established after European patterns and traditions of university and school teaching. The supremacy of a European bias is most obvious in the teaching of history, where many courses are offered on European history and the history of white Americans, whereas nothing is taught about the heritage of Native Americans and other "ethnics" and their share in American history at large. Although in varying degrees, both non-white and white students are victims of a colonialist situation: despite the so called American Revolution, the Euroamericans are culturally still ruled by European ideas and ideals, they have not come to a point where they can teach a truly American history, embracing all facets of it regardless of race, and rooting it within the cultural traditions and values of the true Americans; at the same time, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, Afro- and Asian Americans are all denied their own history and are fed with the white

supremacist history instead.[46] This situation cannot change for white Americans as long as they refuse to accept genocide and slavery as inherent parts of their history just as much as the Boston Tea Party or the Gettysburg Address. However, the oppressed themselves are no longer patiently waiting for the Euroamericans to come to understand their historical situation better, but instead they are demanding and establishing centers to teach the history and culture of their own people, the victims of history for centuries. Euro-americans will have to learn from them.

The history of "ethnic studies" in the U.S. shows how hard the members of minorities still have to fight against white supremacy, against intellectual chauvinism and European racism deeply entrenched in all layers of the hierarchy of the Euroamerican academic establishment.[47] Some NAS programs are even struggling for survival, right now, and the staff face discrimination and misunderstanding. In any case, it seems quite doubtful that NAS can ever hope to be fully successful in serving Indian people as long as they are part of a white supremacist university structure and are subject to rules and regulations designed for the employment and evaluation of Euro-academics. Self-determination in Indian higher education is as difficult as self-determination in schools for Indian pupils.

At the NAS Tecumseh Center, UCD, three categories for the hiring of faculty were put forth originally: scholars, artists and people involved with Indian communities. It is most difficult for faculty members of the latter categories to be promoted or tenured in a system based on the individual accumulation of titles and publications. Moreover, the individual's status and occupation in the rat-race system of a university establishment may prevent him or her from artistic creation or may alienate them from their Indian communities.

One of the most basic problems of all NAS programs is that of objectives and aims. Are NAS students to become succesful scholars (measured by Euro-academic standards) or are they to become activists in community development? Should NAS programs provide scholarly academic training in history, sociology, literature, politics, anthropology, etc. from an Indian perspective, or should they rather concentrate on providing remedial courses to allow Indian students fill out the gaps in their previous schooling? Should NAS courses aim at teaching urban Indians about their heritage or should they train reservation Indians to become community developers and return to their people? Should NAS be geared solely to meet the demands of Native American students or should they be involved in the reeducation of white students?[48] These questions have to be answered by Native Americans themselves, and all that white people can do will be to provide the necessary funds and equipment or serve in subsidiary functions according to the directions of Indian people. So far, in most cases, the individual circumstances of each NAS establishment have served to answer the questions above and there seems to be neither a patent solution nor a finite answer to any of them.

Tecumseh Center covers most of the areas discussed and caters for both Indian and non-Indian students. The emphasis will vary with the individual teachers, who are artists, scholars, and people experienced in Indian affairs. At the same time, all of them are involved to varying degrees in Indian community development, be it in the field of arts, of Canadian schools for Indians, or in the running of nearby DQU, where the majority of them teach on a voluntary basis. For an outsider from Europe, working with them on a temporary basis, their readiness to share information and to cooperate with others is a most impressing

and pleasing experience. Since its establishment in 1970, Tecumseh Center has been supporting and cooperating with DQU, serving as a bridgehead for its foundation and as a pool of expertise and academic teaching staff. In that respect, DQU and Tecumseh Center form the kind of symbiosis suggested by one of the participants of the First Convocation of Indian Scholars mentioned above.

ALCATRAZ RECLAIMED!!!

PROCLAMATION:
TO THE GREAT WHITE FATHER AND ALL HIS PEOPLE

We, the native Americans, reclaim the land known as Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery.

We wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with the Caucasian inhabitants of this land, and hereby offer the following treaty:

We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for twenty-four dollars ($24) in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago. We know that $24 in trade goods for these 16 acres is more than was paid when Manhattan Island was sold, but we know that land values have risen over the years. Our offer of $1.23 per acre is greater than the 47¢ per acre the white man are now paying the California Indians for their land.

We will give to the inhabitants of this island a portion of that land for their own, to be held in trust by the American Indian Affairs and by the Bureau of Caucasian Affairs to hold in perpetuity — for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea. We will further guide the inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our life-ways, in order to help them achieve our level of civilization and thus raise them and all their white brothers up from their savage and unhappy state. We offer this treaty in good faith from and wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with all white men.

We feel that this so-called Alcatraz Island is more fit a suitable for an Indian Reservation, as determined by the white man's own standards, by this we mean that this place resembles most Indian Reservations, in that:

1. It is isolated from modern facilities, and without adequate means of transportation.
2. It has no fresh running water.
3. It has inadequate sanitation facilities.
4. There are no oil or mineral rights.
5. There is no industry and no unemployment is very great.
6. There are no health care facilities.
7. The soil is rocky and non-productive; and the land does not support game.
8. There are no educational facilities.
9. The population has always exceeded the land space.
10. The population has always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others.

Further, it would be fitting and symbolic that ships from all over the world, entering the Golden Gate, would first see Indian land, and thus be reminded of the true history of this nation. This tiny island would be a symbol of the great lands once ruled by free and noble Indians.

A group of Indians, comprised of mostly college students, have taken a hold on Alcatraz Island "by right of discovery." They offered to buy the island for $24 in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago. The former prison site is now in the hands of the General Services Administration and the GSA's request ot move off the island and comply with the request "in the interest and safety of all concerned and that discussions on the subject can be pursued in a proper manner."

But the Indians say that the island is abandoned federal property and by treaty should revert to the red man.

The group want a university for Indians established on the barren island and a spokesman said that this is the first step in the battle for justice for the Indian people. Alaska will be next.

Al Capone once said of the island, that it isn't worth that the island isn't fit for human beings, "give it back to the Indians."

The group said that "this place is so run down it already seems about the same as an Indian reservation. The Indians also claim "squatters rights to the land. A spokesman explained, in one day of occupation by white men on our land years ago established squatters rights this should established our rights here.

SUPPORT THE CLAIM TO ALCATRAZ ISLAND

The ITC is urging you to support our people on Alcatraz Island. Petitions are available at the office and call or write if you want to circulate them. Donations of food and money are also requested, NO MATTER HOW SMALL. Just let them know they have INDIAN SUPPORT.

Specifically, we are requesting you to fill these petitions with as many names as possible and send them back to the American Indian Center, 3189 16th Street, San Francisco 94103

Other types of assistance can be in the form of letters to your Congressman, the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, etc.

Any checks or money orders should be made out to be American Indian Center Building Fund. or Alcatraz Relief Fund.

address for funds is:

Bank of California
Mission Branch
3080 16th Street
San Francisco, Calif. 94103

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SUMMARY OF CHAPTER ONE (SETTING)

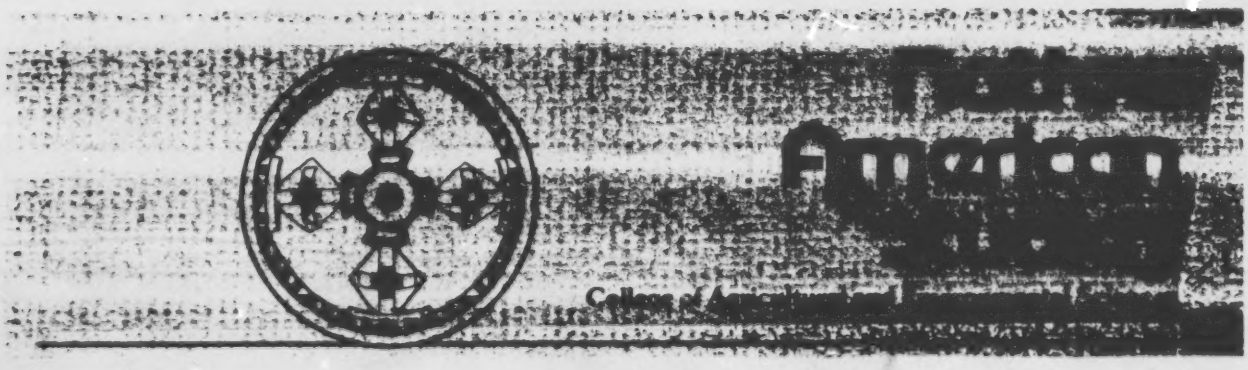
The establishment of Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl, joint Chicano-Indian University, near Davis, California in 1971, continues a long tradition of Mexican and North American Indian higher education, and it is a result of initiatives and movements current in California at that time.

Whereas, traditionally, the schooling of Indian children by white agencies has served to destroy their Indian identity, during the sixties and seventies more public attention was focused on the deplorable situation of Native American education, allowing for a greater amount of self-determination. Many changes and government actions must be seen as a necessary response to political activities by the oppressed themselves.

In California both Native and Mexican Americans share similar educational and social experiences, despite a considerable amount of traditional antagonism between the two groups. Both are internal colonized people fighting against Anglo oppression and exploitation.

The California Indian Education Association (CIEA) was the first organization entirely controlled by grass-roots Indian people, fighting for more self-determination in educational and socio-political matters. The California-based Indian Historian Press also worked for more Indian control in educational matters, concentrating on an academic elitist level. Due to the CIEA's and other groups' continued efforts, major changes in federal and State social and educational Indian policies were achieved. In California alone, fifteen Native American Studies programs were established at colleges and universities.

Two of the founders of both CIEA and DQU are NAS faculty members at Tecumseh Center, University of California at Davis, and other CIEA - members are also involved in both universities. There is constant communication and mutual influence between both institutions. Without having Tecumseh Center at the university as a bridgehead, DQU might never have been established nor does it seem likely it could have survived.



2. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF D-Q UNIVERSITY

2.1. Early Plans

It is impossible to write about the origin of D-QU without repeatedly mentioning the names of those individuals most involved in its foundation. But even if the names Risling, Forbes, Hutchison, and others keep recurring throughout this account it must always be remembered that these individuals could never have achieved their goal without the commitment and substantial support of the Indian and Chicano people and their organizations, as well as the help of some non-Native American groups and individuals. Dreams for the establishment of a pan-Indian center of learning are probably as old as the history of Native American-European contact in North America. Elskwatawa, the Shawnee prophet, brother to Tecumseh, started building such a center in 1812, but up until the present all such endeavours were finally frustrated by the combined onslaught of all forces of the Euroamerican power structure: physically, the military, disease, alcoholism, and pollution destroy Native Americans, ideologically, churches, schools, and white paternalism rob them of their identity.

In July 1961 Jack D. Forbes wrote a paper "For the Indian's Future - An American Indian University", and on November 14, the same year, he sent revised copies of this paper entitled "Proposal to Create an American Indian University" to various organizations and interested individuals.[49] Forbes, together with Carl and Mary Gorman, kept on writing, publishing and campaigning for this idea throughout the decade, and the responses ranged from letters of encouragement to downright rejections. For example, Rupert Costo, influential head of the Indian Historian Press wrote to Forbes in October 1964, opposing the idea of a separate Indian university and arguing for the inclusion of Native American aspects and materials in all other parts of existing curricula (in the late sixties and early seventies, the Indian Historian Press held their own Convocation of Indian Scholars, discussing, among other things, the establishment of all-Indian community colleges!). In 1965, there were contacts with Mel Thom, head of the National Indian Youth Conference, and in 1968, for example, the then Vice-President Lyndon B. Johnson sent letters of encouragement.

While Forbes and others were seeking to establish an all-American college for indigenous peoples, Sarah Hutchison was trying to locate Indian MD's to help in the founding of an "Indian College of Medicine." After contacts with two interested physicians in Sacramento and plans to use the old Mint building there, Sarah Hutchison eventually established contact with Risling and Forbes in nearby Davis and sided with them for the establishment of D-Q University, of which a planned "Carlos Montezuma Medical School" was to be a part. From 1970 on, her name has been tied in with everything that happened about and around D-QU, and she was the first woman on the four member D-QU Board of Directors (the others being David Risling, Jr., Jack D. Forbes, and Ken Martin).

A 1968 application by Forbes to use Fort Masor, Alcatraz Island and part of the Presidio for a Native American university was never considered seriously by the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco. The subsequent occupation of Alcatraz Island by the United Native Americans and other groups, likewise, did not lead to the establishment of a pan-Indian cultural center, as originally planned. But the pressure of Native American demands for the establishment of Native American Studies programs and Indian Colleges was increasing.

In 1968 the Donner Foundation funded a feasability study for the establishment of a Native American University, conducted by Jack D. Forbes in collaboration with the CIEA, and from 1969

on, David Risling, Jr., with the consent of that organization, began looking for a government surplus land site in California.

All the while, in the Movimiento Nativo-Americano, there were similar interests and initiatives, and since the Chicano community was larger in numbers and better organized politically than the Indian groups involved, a joint-action policy was devised. The inclusion of Indians and Chicanos, however, also invited some of the problems within the Chicano community into the D-QU movement. There was a conflict of different interests, e.g., between those Chicanos who needed nothing more desperately than food and jobs, and those who wanted D-QU to provide them with the necessary skills to make a career in mainstream society. Finally, there was the group of those who identified as Indians, thus sharing the same ideas as the Indian founders of D-QU. While the racial composition of Chicanos and Indians is often almost identical, many important aspects of their cultural and political heritage and their ideologies differ too greatly to allow for much mutual agreement on all the issues involved. Moreover, and this is the most important aspect, all differences or seeming differences between Indians and Chicanos - which rarely or never occurred on the D-QU campus - were exaggerated by hostile forces outside the movement, intent on destroying a unity they regarded as threatening to the established system.

In Fall 1969 the Native American Studies program at the University of California, Davis, was instituted, naming itself Tecumseh Center. The first faculty members were Jack Forbes, Carl Gorman, Ken Martin, and David Risling, Jr., - Sarah Hutchison joining them in 1970. Thus, Tecumseh Center at Davis became the bridgehead for the establishment of D-QU.

2.2. Legal Battle and Occupation

Early in 1970 the Office of Surplus Property Utilization (OSPU) of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) declared a former Army Communication Center, seven miles west of Davis, surplus property. The site was 1 square mile in size (643.5 acres) and had various large buildings suitable as dormitories, offices, class rooms, and lecture halls. Immediately, the four board members on the provisional D-QU Board of Directors seized the chance and applied for the site. However, there were other more influential and powerful competitors, including the University of California at Davis, bread-giver to the D-QU Board members. The University at Davis wanted to use the site as an experimental station to do animal research with monkeys. So, for a while, it was literally "Monkeys or Indians?", as the *Sacramento Bee* put it in one of their headlines that Fall.

The history of this application presents a case study in governmental corruption and the influence of pressure groups in American democracy, and the events that followed are best described in the words of those who fought the ensuing legal battle.

> The case which emerged then was a classic one: a group of Indians and Chicanos, without money or political influence, engaged in combat with a powerful bureaucratic agency allied with even more powerful agricultural and political interests.
>
> The Office of Surplus Property Utilization (OSPU) and Rep. Leggett did everything possible to expedite the UCD proposal, including the bending or ignoring of legal guidelines for property disposal. Normally such behavior, so typical of federal agencies dealing with powerless groups, would have succeeded. In this instance, however, the Indo-Chicano group possessed persons knowledgeable as regards procedures and willing to risk their jobs, scholarships, et cetera, to fight to the bitter end. In other words, the "powerless" in this case simply would not entertain the possibility of defeat.
>
> Late in October OSPU moved secretly to grant the site to UCD in spite of a defective

application. On October 28, however, U.S. Senator George Murphy, desperately seeking reelection, issued a press release "spilling the beans" about the site going to UCD. This occurred two days before the deadline set by OSPU for finalizing applications. The immediate reaction of the D-Q movement was one of extreme anger, righteous indignation, and resolve to press forward on every possible front.

At this point a complimentary "twin" strategy was developed spontaneously, by the common assent of the D-QU people but without any formal "contract" as such. The Indian and Chicano students at UCD (and a few from Sacramento State College and other nearby colleges) resolved to occupy the land with the Chicanos supplying logistical support. These decisions were reached spontaneously by the students without "guidance" or suggestion from non-students. The importance of this decision cannot be overemphasized since the students were risking the loss of their scholarships (almost all were receiving financial aid) and possible imprisonment. Indeed, they expected to be arrested.

In the meantime, the older leaders of D-QU (most of whom were faculty or staff at UCD) contacted California Indian Legal Services, Inc. and initiated court action to halt the projected transfer of the site to UCD.

The total D-Q Movement also moved rapidly to organize popular support by means of public meetings, press releases, lobbying, et cetera. Funds were also raised for two purposes, for general support and for bail money (it was still anticipated that the students would be arrested). Non-Indian and non-Chicano persons in the Davis area were enlisted to help in the effort and several ministers, in particular, provided important assistance in terms of helping to keep the police away, raising funds, and enlisting further support.

Generally, it should be noted that the "liberal" community of Davis did not respond in terms of active support of D-QU. Some people with "liberal" reputations were hostile, many were indifferent, and only a relative few gave any active support. The experience showed clearly that the bulk of "white liberals" do not understand Indian and Chicano goals and needs or are threatened by movements *led exclusively* by non-whites. In any event, the burden of work fell squarely upon a relatively small number of Indians and Chicanos, never numbering more than one hundred, who were actively involved and usually numbering less than fifty.

The details of the effort need not concern us here. Suffice to state that the multiple strategy of occupation, court action, and public education lobbying succeeded eventually in forcing the University of California to repudiate its own defective application. By January 1971, therefore, D-QU was the only legitimate applicant for the site and DHEW was forced to begin working seriously with the Indian-Chicano leadership. On January 13, the occupation ended and on January 15, 1970 the occupation of the site by Indian and Chicano "guards" was officially agreed upon by DHEW. On April 2, 1971 the deed to the site was transferred to the D-QU Board of Trustees in an impressive ceremony.[50]

This bare outline of events sums up the outer chronology, but does not speak about the pain, commitment, anxiety, internal struggle, the fun and the hard work behind everything. It does not mention the night shifts put in by two faculty members to file a suit against HEW, it does not speak about the food and clothing brought to the occupiers, it does not even reveal the identity of the one faculty member who went out to the Army Communication Center the night before the occupation, there pretending to have some car-trouble as an excuse to stop and check out how many soldiers there would be on guard. The occupiers climbed the fence before dawn, and by the time there was enough light and the fog had lifted enough for the guards on duty to detect them, the Indian students had pitched tents and tipis and "made themselves at home". In the following hours, there was much turmoil and tension, but there were also funny incidents, e.g., an army officer approaching on a bike and turning back to cable that the base was "surrounded by hundreds of Indians". The law enforcement agents were in a rather complicated situation: the site was a federally owned Army base (FBI or Military Police?), situated in Yolo County (Yolo Sheriff?), near the City of Davis (Municipal Police?), occupied by a group of UCD students (Campus Police?). It took a while for them to sort out who was "responsible" for this case. Also, immediately before the elections, a forceful eviction would have caused much unwanted antagonism, and the later

trials would have laid bare HEW's fraudulent handling of the application procedures. Moreover, this was not the only such occupation in California at the time (Alcatraz, Pit River).

Retrospectively, the "twin strategy" was a clever, well-thought-out technique, which, combined with luck and improvisation, turned out very successfully. The university professors, risking their own jobs against their employee, used all their skill and influence to file law suits and rally support for the D-QU movement "within the system", whereas their students and outside supporters fought the battle from "without", - Risling, Forbes, and others managed to gain support from leading political figures, including the senators Edward M. Kennedy, Alan Cranston, George McGovern, and, above all, John Tunney.

Meanwhile out at the site, several non-students from Alcatraz and other places arrived, gradually outnumbering the students from UCD. Whereas the students had to keep up their studies and resume going to classes, the newcomers had no such obligations. In the weeks following the occupation, communication with the initiators at UCD, busy filing law-suits and rallying support, and the non-student occupiers out at D-QU broke down, and what looks like a serious power struggle arose, endangering the future of the site as an educational facility. Fortunately, the internal struggle was eventually solved by the Indian people themselves without involvement of outside help (c.f. pp. 89-99.).

On December 4, 1970, the University of California withdrew its application, and D-QU was left as the only applicant meeting the HEW requirements. The occupation of the site ended officially on January 12, 1971, and three days later the keys were handed over to the D-QU Board of Trustees. There was another confrontation between the occupiers and the D-QU initators, but finally a compromise was reached, and the board members, with the consent of the occupiers, sent out letters nationwide to Indians and Chicanos and their organizations, inviting them to come to D-QU on Sunday, February 21, 1971, to elect the first joint Indian-Chicano Board of Directors, consisting of 32 members, each group sending 16. This act confirmed the initial policy of the founders of D-QU and ended the internal power struggle.[51]

Finally, on April 2, 1971 celebrated as "Deed Day" each year, the deed for the D-QU site was handed over officially to the Board of Trustees. It provided for the D-QU Board of Trustees to gain full title to the land in "Fee Simple Absolute" at the end of a 30 year period (year 2,001), under the condition that the site be used for educational purposes during all that time.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER TWO (ESTABLISHMENT)

Initiatives for the establishment of D-QU started in 1961, and the project gained momentum with the inclusion of the Chicanos. Tecumseh Center, UCD served as an operation base.

In 1970 the D-QU - initiators applied to HEW for a 640 acre surplus land site near Davis, California, but HEW decided illegally to give the site to the University of California, instead. This led to the occupation of the site by Tecumseh Center students and supporters from outside, while the initiators filed a law-suit against HEW at the same time. This "twin-strategy" was successful, and on April 2, 1971, the deed for the site was given to the D-QU board.

DEGANAWIDAH QUETZALCOATL UNIVERSITY

HISTORIC EDITION

Vol. 1 No. 21 | DQU | P.O. Box 409 | Davis, California | Friday, April 2, 1971

CHICANOS AND NATIVE AMERICANS SAY:

THE LAND IS OURS

POWWOW

CELEBRATION SET FOR APRIL 2

DAVIS,CA-An interim board of directors and plans for a big powwow emerged from a meeting attended by several hundred Indians and Chicanos at the new D-Q (Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl) University.

The celebration is set for April 2, according to the interim board chairman, David Riding, University of California at Davis coordinator of Native American Studies. He indicated the Department of Health, Education and Welfare soon will formally announce the granting to DQU of the 640 acre former Army Communications Station 6 miles west of Davis, where the Indians and Chicanos plan to establish their own university.

"TEMPORARY CUSTODY

DQU currently has temporary custody of the site. Robert Coop, regional director of HEW in San Francisco, has said he was forwarding DQU's application for the property to Washington with a recommendation for approval.

"Many dignitaries and congressmen will attend the celebration", Riding predicted.

Of yesterday's day-long meeting, Riding said, "This is history - for our people and the Chicanos to learn how to get land legally through federal channels. It's only the beginning; there will be more changes, in housing and welfare."

"Since education is the key to all these things" that is why DQU is so necessary, he said.

More than half a dozen western states and the District of Columbia were represented.

The philosophy of which Riding speaks, pertains to creation of a university to meet what he terms the special needs of Indians and Chicanos "it has not being achieved in the present school structure as pointed out by many educational committees."

DQU will train its students in leadership, community development and legislative processes, he outlined. It will have programs for persons at all levels of previous education and for all age groups.

Community college, vocational school and academic curricula will be offered, Riding stated.

The new interim board will become official at the next meeting, slated for the evening of March 5 and all day March 6 at DQU, Riding said.

ONE-YEAR TERMS

The new interim board of directors will serve no more than a year and includes 16 Chicanos and 16 Indians.

The Chicanos are: Louis Flores, UCD director of Chicano Studies; Jesse Jossera, and Arturo Apodoca, UCD law students; Elena Marquez, UCD pre-vet student; Gonzalo Racobo, an employee of the State Dept. of Human Resources Development in Berkeley and board president of the United Council of Spanish-Speaking; Eduardo Reuss, Yuba College and Colusa High Teacher; Rafael Guerrero of San Louis Obispo, historian, poet and writer, and Robert Gutierrez, Diablo Valley College (Pleasant Hill) student.

Al Negrotto, Sacramento elementary school principal; Jose Zamora, Antioch teacher; Randall Gonzales, Chico State College student; Abel Villareal, president of the Mexican-American Conclio for Yuba and Sutter Counties; Cruzita Alcazar, of Livingston, Merced county, representative of Cesa Campesina; Ricardo Garcia, UCD pre-med student; Jovita Alvarez, Livingston community action agency worker, and Rudy Cuellar, employee of the Roseville Mexican-American Conclio.

Indian board members and their tribes are: David Riding, Hopa; Alex Cooper, Pit River Indian, of Sacramento; Morgan Otis, Kiowa, coordinator of Native American Studies at Sacramento State College and president - California Indian Education Assn.; Jack Forbes, Rappahannock, UCD professor and Indian historian; Sarah Hutchison, Cherokee, Sacramento psychotherapist; Alfred Hicks, Navajo, Richmond school teacher; Tom Campbell of Sacramento, Pomo, investigator for California Indian Legal Services; Abby Abinanti, Yurok, UCD law student, and Alice Williams, Paiute - Shoshone-Bannock from Reno, active worker in Nevada Indian affairs; Grace Thorpe, Sac-Fox publicist from Hawthorne; Jenny Joe, Navajo-Seneca, Berkeley public health service nurse; Wilfred Wasson, Coos, from Washington State; Vivian Hailstone, Hoopa-Karok, Yurok, from Hoopa, Humboldt County; Malcolm Marshall, Hoopa, Indian special consultant to the State Dept. of Education, Sacramento; Dr. Frank Clark, Hoopa, Woodlake, Tulare County physician, and Dick Lane, Jemez-Pueblo Indian and a Davis jeweler.

DEDICATION DAY CEREMONY

Program April 2, 1971

Official Transfer of Property

Federal Government to DQU Board of Directors

9 am - 12 pm DQU Board of Directors Meeting	Official Transfer of Property "Why We Need a Chicano University" Statement
12 pm -1 pm No Host Lunch	
1 pm - 1:30 pm News Conference	"Why We Need an Indian University" Statement
1:30 pm - 2 pm DQU Directors-Dignitaries Meeting	Brief Speeches by Visiting Officials Chicano-Indian Entertainment
2 pm Chicano-Indian Entertainment	6 pm - 7 pm Dinner
2:30 pm Chicano Prayer Peace Pipe Ceremony Introduction of Guests	7 pm Mexican Fiesta Indian Pow Wow

Indian art and photographic displays-museum exhibit
Arts and crafts booths open all day

Donations to DQU Bank Of California - Davis, Ca. 95616
For Information: DQU Box 409 Davis, Ca. 95616

HISTORIC EDITION

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3. THE STRUCTURE OF D-QU

3.1. The Name

The name "Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University" has puzzled many outsiders, particularly the non-Native Americans, and now the abbreviation "D-QU" is generally in use. However, the full name is a spriitual one, and it stands for the aspirations of this institution. Therefore, it cannot be changed or forgotten, even if its spiritual significance excludes it from common usage.[52]

> "D-Q's" name symbolizes the rich heritage and aspirations of the Indian-Chicano people. Deganawidah was probably the greatest reformer and statesman ever produced by North America. Born of virgin birth, according to tradition, he originated the concept of the League of Nations (or United Nations) and universal human peace (about 1,350 A.D.). Quetzalcoatl was the greatest teacher and reformer of ancient Mexico, guiding the Toltecs in their development of a superb civilization and seeking to bring an end to mankind's abuse of one another. Together, these figures symbolize the beauty and purity of the high ethics of Native American peoples, an ethic needed today if the world is to be saved from destruction.[53]

Originally, another name had been suggested, calling the institution "University of the Truth", implying that this would be a place, where the truth about the history and culture of the vanquished indigenous peoples of the Americas would and could be taught.

The names bear witness to the high moral and ethical standards asked for in all the people involved in the learning and teaching process at D-QU. Such high ideals are hard to achieve in reality, particularly when faced by a surrounding society that counteracts them. Also, they set a standard by which those involved in running the university must evaluate their own actions, seeking personal and individual perfection before structural or organizational reforms. There is a dichotomy between such high ideals and the adjustments required to keep going an educational institution in a dominant society that enforces corruption and inhumanity. Some of the internal and external problems D-QU has had in the past may have to do with this clash between the purity of Native American spiritual ideals and the brutality of U.S. American "Realpolitik".

3.2. Aims and Objectives

The long term objective of D-QU has been from the start to facilitate Indian and Chicano self-determination, - not only in the field of higher education but necessarily reaching out into all facets of Indian and Chicano life. Even in recent years, with a gradual shift towards a more Indian and less Chicano oriented institution, the overall objective has remained unchanged. This continuity is documented in an official statement about the "Philosophy and Objectives of D-Q University", released by the university in the late seventies.

> D-Q University (D-QU), an accredited Indian/Chicano college established in 1971, located in Davis, California, has just recently become an all-Indian controlled college and is in the process of enlarging its board of trustees to include members from several Western states.
>
> Native people throughout the Americas have had, as one of their top priorities, "self-determination" including, among other things, the control and operation of their own educational institutions. As such an institution, D-Q University is both controlled and operated by Indian people. The purpose of D-QU is to develop Native scholars who can combine "Indianness", or an awareness of their roots and cultural heritage, with the professional and technical skills necessary to meet the needs of the Native communities. It is envisioned that these scholars will teach the traditional values to those who need increased positive self-identity and confidence while at the same time

teaching them technical skills and occupations which will allow them to change both the service and delivery systems which affect the lives of Native people.

One of the basic values D-QU emphasizes is the sense of community which includes the family, extended family, local and world communities of human beings. In many ways this is very different than the individualistic, competitive and materialistic emphasis of the European-American educational system. Another value which D-QU emphasizes is the relationship of humans to their total environment and their need to live in harmony with all parts of the ecology.

Consistent with the above, D-Q University, from its inception, had had four major objectives. The first is to provide within a program of academic excellence, education and training for Native People in a cultural context. We believe that affirmation of cultural integrity and perceived cultural worth is indispensable to the development of an epistemology that can produce whole, assertive, useful citizens.

Secondly, D-Q University shall provide a practicum for its students combining contemporary technologies and professional skills to meet the pressing present needs of both communities.

Thirdly, D-Q University perceives the preservation and development of cultural heritage as substantive disciplinary areas of scholarly inquiry and exploration. The culture destroying pressures of urbanized society render the oral tradition of value transmission through the family or tribal institutions more and more ineffective. Validating and documenting the indigenous cultural universe in a scholarly manner makes it possible to institutionalize the conduits of culture and render them amenable to broad sharing with the communities affected and with the dominant society.

Fourth, D-Q University was founded to serve as a national development center for Indian and Chicano communities. We seek to serve our people in the communities in which they live. We will bring the resources of the University to bear upon the immediate needs of Native peoples as they strive to improve their lives; and thus, to train students who will serve as agents of social change when they leave the University.[54]

The statements shows that despite having changed to an all-Indian board of directors, D-QU officially still regards itself as an institution for all the indigenous people of the Americas, and as an instrument of social reform towards self-determination.

3.3. College Structure and Curriculum

Originally, D-QU was planned to consist of four colleges or schools, geared to the needs of Native Americans: The Tiburcio Vasques College, a two-year junior college, granting "A.A." (Associate of Arts) and "A.S." (Associate of Science) degrees; the Hehaka Sapa (Black Elk) College and the Quetzelcoatl College for Native American and Chicano Studies respectively, and the Carlos Montezuma Medical School. Of these, the medical school has never been established, and whereas Chicano and Native American Studies are still being taught at D-QU today, there are no B.A. or B.S. programs, let alone programs for Masters or Ph.D. degrees.

In July 1972, D-QU was accepted as a recognized candidate for accreditation by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges, and since 1977 D-QU is a fully-accredited 2-year college, granting both "A.A.'s" and "A.S.'s". It offers courses in various fields of Native American and Chicano Studies, such as Lakota language courses, seminars on Native American religion, on California Tribes and Reservations, as well as courses in Latin American Literature and History. At the same time, D-QU also teaches specific skills needed by Native American or Mexican students, such as grantsmanship, community design, ethnogeography, Indian law, co-op principles and management[55] or remedial courses for those who perhaps dropped out of the colonizers' public school system or never even had a chance to attend any kind of school regularly, as in the case of Mexican farm workers from poor areas south of the border.

Within this context, a course offered as a "Writing Workshop" or a "College Survival

Course" may well be adjusted to the specific needs of the students taking it and be turned into a remedial course in English language. Here lies a great opportunity for teachers concerned about their student's advancement, - instead of following preconceived traditional college course curricula, geared after the model of established, white-dominated universities, the instructors can develop their own alternatives, teaching those things that really help their students instead of a subject matter deemed important by repetitive use.

3.4. Student Body

Until today, D-QU has catered for an approximate total of 2,000 students, teaching an average of 200 per year. The first graduate of D-QU, Victor Gabriel, finished his studies there in 1974. The university is open to everybody who has either graduated from High School or is over 18 years of age and no longer obliged to attend public schools, - in other words, anybody who is interested and willing to meet course requirements and follow the goals of D-QU can become a student. Unlike other universities, who demand certain requirements from the students, such as point averages etc. - thereby often excluding lower class and minority students from poor school districts etc., - D-QU encourages those disadvantaged groups to attend their program. Although the majority of students at D-QU are of Mexican or Native American background, there are students from all other groups as well, excluding, though not deliberately, students from a white upper middle-class background, whose parents can afford to send their children to "better" institutions.

There is a large percentage of part-time students since many of them, particularly the migrant farm workers from Mexico, can only attend D-QU classes on Saturdays. Therefore, today more so than ever, D-QU is "busiest" on Saturdays when you can meet students of all age-groups and backgrounds trying to make up the deficits in their school education or seeking specialized instruction in Native American and Chicano Studies. Naturally, given the unstable financial background of most D-QU students, the fluctuation is high. Often students are forced to interrupt their studies for longer periods of time to earn money to keep themselves and their families alive, and thus a curriculum designed for a total of two years may often be "outstretched" over a much longer period of time.

As a teacher from a European University who has also taught Euro-American students on occasion, I was most impressed by the dedication shown by the D-QU students. Although I have had many dedicated, concerned students at home who spent extra time working for the "cause", they never had to cope with such immense social and economic problems. My Mexican students at D-QU strove and battled against seemingly overpowering odds to get the education necessary to help themselves and their people to become more independent and self-determining in a basically hostile society. I have never had students economically so poor as my Mexican and Indian students, nor have any of my former students worked so painstakingly hard against such tremendous financial, linguistic, educational and private obstacles as two of them during the time I taught at and for D-QU (Fall 1979 until Summer 1980). To watch their progress has been a most gratifying experience, and to discuss and work with them in class and privately has been very enjoyable, - students became friends.

3.5. Faculty

Presently, all faculty members of D-QU teach without receiving payment for their services.

The teaching staff includes faculty members from UC Davis and other colleges and universities, elders from Indian communities and "outsiders" involved in architecture, alternative energy projects, administration, etc. Some of the teachers have gone through the academic system in main-stream educational institutions, holding M.A.'s and Ph.D.'s, and others possess knowledge and experience that cannot be measured or could only be belittled if expressed in academic degrees. Academic courses that are included in any main-stream university's curriculum are complemented by seminars in herbalism, farming, building, Federal Indian Law from an "insider" perspective or the history of California Indians. People like Phillip Deere or Leonard Crow Dog have instructed D-QU students side by side with ordinary college teachers. Native American culture cannot be "taught" in a mainstream course but it is lived on the campus, - on the other hand, necessary writing or mechanical skills can very well be taught in class-room situations. Both are necessary and both are being conveyed at D-QU.

Any educational institution like D-QU is necessarily caught in a dilemma between two opposing value systems and two opposing ways of knowledge. The composition of courses and faculty will reflect this diversity.

3.6. Administration

All power lies in the hands of the D-QU Board of Directors. The board consists of 32 members. Originally, there were 16 Chicanos and 16 Indians on the board, including one student for each group. However, on November 4, 1978 the Chicano board members resigned, at a time when D-QU was facing severe financial problems, and when the "Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act" was in the making, designed to give money to community colleges under Indian majority rule. After then an all-Indian board was instituted and the constitution of D-QU was changed accordingly. Now, under an all-Indian board of directors, D-QU as a whole became a member of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC), an organization consisting of all Indian Community Colleges under exclusive Native American control, whereas previously, only Hehaka Sapa College had been a member.

Most of the resigning Chicano board members gave as a reason for their resignations that they hoped an all-Indian board would make funding the university easier and would help to secure the survival of D-QU, which, to this day, continues to serve both Indian and Chicano students. The resignation of the Chicano board members, however, gave rise to much speculation and undoubtedly also caused some bad feelings. However, it must be stressed here that throughout its existence, the joint board had made it a point of policy to act as a united Indian-Chicano body, and, consequently, about ninety percent of all decisions were reached unanimously. Naturally, in the course of D-QU's existence there have been times when there was friction between different interest groups, but the factions never split the board itself nor did they divide up according to Indian-Chicano lines. The Longest Walk 1978, in particular, became a cornerstone in the development of D-QU. Again, the board of directors acted in unity, and they decided to (a) support the Longest Walk and (b) provide office-space for the coordination of it. Consequently, D-QU became a center for the coordination of the Longest Walk 1978. At that time, however, D-QU had practically no money, and when phone and utility bills rose markedly as a result of the activities of the Longest Walk coordinating office, dissension arose among the D-QU staff about how far the support should go. The then president of D-QU, Manuel Alonzo, was particularly adverse to supporting the Longest Walk, and although the coordinators of it did pay some money for the bills, it later turned out

that the sum was not high enough. Following the resignation of President Manuel Alonzo on September 12, 1978, Charl Cambridge was employed as the Acting President. He asked for and got a resolution from the board that any organization using the facilities of D-QU would have to pay for its expenses. This action caused the Longest Walk office to be moved out of D-QU. All this time, the board acted in unity, but some dissension among the staff prevailed. This went on until November 4, 1978, and may have influenced Charlie Cambridge and others to fight against the resignation of the Chicano board members, an act to secure the survival of D-QU.[56] The future is going to show whether this hope will come true. Today, the D-QU Board of Directors has not filled all 32 positions, but the slots are gradually filled by Indian people from all over the west, some positions to be taken by tribal delegates from those reservations who have sanctioned D-QU. Since it has become an all-Indian board of directors, several Indian institutions and organizations have supported D-QU to help it survive. Moreover all board members are required to make sacrifices, proving their dedication to the cause. Each member is asked to make a contribution of $1,000 to D-QU. This may seem elitist, but so far, only two people have ever paid this amount in money, both being teachers and long standing staff members who dedicate a large amount of their spare time to the university in any case. All others have made that payment either totally or partially in working a certain amount of hours for the institution, in donating materials or in recruiting students, so that this requirement is really a measuring stick for the dedication of the people on the board.

Another thing has changed since the first board was elected. Instead of having conventions of Indians at D-QU, selecting representatives there and then, the Indian board members are now proposed by Indian communities, organizations, and reservations throughout the west. The board gives them a hearing, asking for proof of their dedication, and then selects them. This process, it is hoped will allow for more traditional leaders and elders to have a say in the affairs of D-QU, also tying the university in with communities throughout the west. The board will have a full 32 person membership again by 1981.

The board of directors hires the president of D-QU or, as was the case during the first year of its existence, the executive director. This is probably the most demanding job within the administration of D-QU, particularly in times of severe financial, political or ideological stress. It is no wonder that the executive directors (or presidents) of D-QU changed relatively often and that this position was not always filled. The first executive director, Jose de la Isla, held his office from July 1971 until July 1972. Those who remember him personally agree that he was a concerned, good-willed, intelligent and industrious person, working very hard to develop D-QU. However, due to his inexperience in dealing with this unique institution and its problems, he had some disagreements with the students, which ultimately led to a confrontation. This experience influenced him not to seek renewal of his contract in the following year.[57] Until September 1972, a board member served as acting director, until late in 1972, Leroy Clifford became executive president of D-QU. This was in a time when the university was in control of a three million dollar project for Chicano migrant workers (cf. below, p. 35f.).

Dumping a lot of money on a small community or group of people not used to handling such large amounts is always a sure way of destroying unity and setting the people fighting against each other over their respective "shares". As would be expected, this is what happened then. Again a difference in values and policies within the Indian-Chicano community came to the open,

some wanting to spend the money for the common cause, others, more desperate people, trying to secure money and equipment for their own families and extended family groups. Throughout oppressed communities in the USA and elsewhere, there are factions fighting over project money, communal finances etc., and the migrant program was no exception. For a relatively small group of people, many of them totally inexperienced in handling such a situation, a three million dollar project was just too big, and again, the executive director resigned after only six months in office.

Things improved temporarily when Hank Quevedo, a Chicano lawyer and Ph.D. took over, acting as an executive director until June 30, 1973, and becoming the university's first President on July 1973. Quevedo not only started straightening out D-QU's records and affairs but he also began training the people in university administration, helping them learn the skills necessary to handle a growing educational institution run by minority people within a non-sympathetic surrounding. Unfortunately, Hank Quevedo had a serious accident in September and was unable to resume his office. At that time, some important funds out of Title III (program for developing educational institutions) were lost to the university because of Quevedo's being prevented to work after his accident. Until the end of the year his position was held open for him, but when it turned out that he would not return, on January 1, 1974, Dwight Billedeaux became the new President, holding that office until June 30, 1974.

All the while Steve Baldy, a former student of Tecumseh Center, Davis, was the head of student services at D-QU "apprenticed" to Hank Quevedo. So, when Dwight Billedeaux left, Steve Baldy, at Billedeaux's recommendation, was elected by the board and became the acting president of D-QU until the end of 1977. During this time, also, some other official positions were created or developed out of the demands of D-QU. A Dean of Students, a Dean of Academic Affairs, a Dean of Hehaka Sapa College and a Dean of the Library were instituted from July 1973 onwards, as the situation of the university required.

When Dennis Banks joined D-QU in 1975 he served at first as an instructor, then served for one year as the Assistant to the Acting President (then Steve Baldy), and in June 1979 he became the Chancellor of D-QU, responsible for public relations, fund raising and special events, remaining in that position until the present day.

After Steve Baldy left D-QU in December 1977 to take up a job in Humboldt County, Manuel Alonzo became President of D-QU from January 1 until August 31, 1978. This was during the time, when the serious problems arose between the "Longest Walk" supporters and the presidency. So, when Charlie Cambridge took over the office on September 1, after President Alonzo and most of the Chicano members of the board had resigned, the internal situation had, again, been complicated by factionalism, which increased during his term of office. Also, the situation was complicated by the imminent loosing of all federal funds to the university. An "interregnum" by Drusilla Parker from February 1 until the end of April 1979 did nothing to resolve the internal conflicts or alleviate the financial situation. On May 1, 1979, the board replaced her with Steve Baldy, who again returned to D-QU and became the President. He has remained in this position throughout D-QU's struggle for survival, regardless of whether the university had federal funds available or whether these were cut off, and he may rightly be called the backbone of the D-QU administration and management.

Today, the university has a President, a Chancellor, a Dean of Academic Affairs and a Dean of Student Affairs. Also, as financing permits, other administrative positions will be created. Many of them work part time or on a voluntary basis. The unstable financial

situation of D-QU and its effects on hiring personnel, often cause serious additional problems. Charlie Cambridge, for example, during his presidency, attempted to rework the D-QU files into one centralized filing-system. The job was done unexpertly by people not qualified for this task, and after his resignation, the D-QU administration had to invest a large amount of time and effort to re-file everything into the previous, more manageable system. Such organizational work demands extra time and strength from a small institution and its staff, desperately fighting for survival, and it has been a serious obstacle in facing investigations and audits from the federal government. However, D-QU has been able, against all odds, to clear all charges and allegations ever made by hostile government agents or a slanderous press. Unfortunately - or typically in this set up - the newspapers rarely bothered to publish the final outcomes which refute their previous allegations, so that, to this day, D-QU is suspected by many to have padded enrollment figures or to have mismanaged federal funds.

Govt. Wastes $1¼ Million in Tax Money On 'University' With No Real Students

While most Americans have been fighting just to make ends meet, the government dished out more than $1.23 million so minorities could "study" sun dancing and body rejuvenation — at a "university" that has no real campus, faculty or students.

Even more infuriating, Indians who run the "university" have actually been making a profit leasing farmland given them free by the government — at the same time they were pocketing taxpayers' dollars.

And yet, unbelievably, the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) funneled a fortune into this phony operation — which was set up in the early 1970s by Indian squatters in an abandoned Army barracks near Davis, Calif. — without once bothering to check where the money was going.

It wasn't until last year that someone smelled a rat.

The two investigators who were sent to have a look at D-Q filed an eye-opening report that left red-faced HEW officials feeling like they'd been fleeced.

Instead of a university, the inspectors discovered "four barracks, three of which have been condemned, and one basketball court — on 643 acres . . ."

That was only the beginning. Their report goes on to say: "There is no heating system. The classrooms are cubicles with no windows and sometimes no light and no furniture."

On top of that, the inspectors had a tough time finding any students — or teachers.

In one "classroom," the investigators managed to locate a teacher and one student, but "it was not clear what the student was learning."

The next day, they turned up one student waiting in a classroom for a teacher who had not yet arrived. In another room, someone was teaching "ethnobotany" to three students. The class was dismissed after half an hour.

"In all, during the two days we were there, we saw a total of five students," the inspectors reported — even though D-Q claims to have 151 full-time Indian and Chicano students and a faculty of 10.

After years of pouring money down the drain at D-Q, HEW finally admitted that the "university . . . is a facade behind which welfare is provided to . . . students. There is no attendance . . . There is no education . . ."

Now that it's come to its senses, HEW has temporarily halted the gravy train to D-Q, which has angrily called the HEW report "racist."

— BENNET BOLTON

A typical example of indiscriminate press-slander, this article was published in the third week of June 1980 by the National Enquirer, long after the allegations had been refuted. Obviously based on an equally slanderous press article in the Washington Star, earlier that year, it does not seem to stem from any actual contact with D-QU or people involved with the place.

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SUMMARY OF CHAPTER THREE (STRUCTURE)

The name "Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University" stands for the ethical and philosophical Native American tradition of which D-QU is a part, and the aims and objectives of the university follow this tradition, seeking to assist the indigenous peoples of the Americas to achieve self-determination in a basically hostile society. The curriculum is designed to serve these goals, and students and teachers must show their dedication to them. The development of the D-QU administration reflects internal conflicts. There has been a shift from an Indian-Chicano controlled college to an all-Indian controlled institution, catering to both Indian and Chicano students.

Nationwide meet called by D-QU

Indians and Mexican-Americans throughout the United States have been invited to a Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University (D-QU) meeting next Sunday to help lay plans for establishing a permanent board of trustees.

Invitations have been sent to all Indian reservations and to Indian and Chicano centers and organizations throughout the country.

Indians and Mexican-Americans will meet in separate buildings beginning at 8 a.m. Each of the two cultural groups will ultimately select half the governing board.

The gathering marks the first serious D-QU attempt to enlist active participation from outside the Davis area. The university is at present governed by a temporary 16-man board composed of eight Indians and eight Mexican-Americans.

The invitation sent to Indians promises that the temporary trustees intend to follow the wishes of the people who attend. "This will not be an advisory or rubber-stamp meeting," it says.

Each Indian will have an equal vote.

"We realize it will be hard for many people to come from far away," the invitations says. "We realize that not all areas will be equally represented. But we hope that you will see the importance of Indian and Chicano people democratically controlling this university and that you will come if you can.

D-QU's first campus is at Davis but if the idea of a truly pan-Indian university is a good one there should probably be other campuses in other regions. Or maybe D-QU can help in the development of other separate Native American universities. That will be up to the Indian people of this hemisphere to decide."

D-QU, generally considered to be the first organization of its kind in the United States, has been occupying the recently-vacated federal communications site six miles northwest of Davis since last fall. Legal possession of the 650 acres of land was awarded to them last month.

Among the reasons for a joint Indian-Chicano (Mexican-American) university, according to a D-QU bulletin, is that both groups have a common racial origin (Indians descended from tribes native to the United States area, and Chicanos from tribes native to Mexico and Central and South America); both possess "folk" cultural traditions quite different than the traditions of the "dominant" society; both have little desire to assimilate and instead seek to retain their unique identities; both suffer from "an extreme degree of neglect and discrimination"; and both have been denied opportunities for higher education and, unlike the blacks, have no universities of their own.

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from: Davis Daily Democrat, Feb. 15,1971

4. D-QU AND COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT

Throughout its existence, D-QU has taken an active part in the struggle of indigenous communities for self-determination. Necessarily, the community involvement of D-QU has never been limited to the Davis area, but has extended into communities throughout California and the Southwest, even reaching across the continent, as in the case of the Longest Walk in 1978, which was initiated at D-QU. "Community", in this sense, means a social or cultural community rather than a geographically defined group of the population. Ideologically, however, this community has always been heterogeneous ranging from groups involved in the Third World - and class-struggle to Indian traditionalists seeking to return to the spiritual ways of their forefathers, regardless of changes in the economic set-up of main-stream society. However, all groups involved suffered from exploitation, oppression, and cultural alienation, and were united in their will to overcome these and determine their lives according to their own ideas, instead of those coming from Washington or other centers of U.S. - American bureaucratic power. Therefore, besides being an institution for awarding academic degrees or providing necessary skills, D-QU has always been a place where theories were also put into action and activities were reflected, taught, and again made available to the people. D-QU, in a sense, became the support-station for the Chicano and Indian struggle for self-determination. Unlike the established ivory-towers, here and elsewhere, D-QU did not shield itself off from social, cultural or political involvement or merely "tolerated" militant action, but became itself the center or an integral part in the non-violent struggle for a world in which human beings can be free sisters and brothers living in harmony, determining their own lives and following their own cultural life-styles in sharing, respect, peace and honesty. Since the U.S. society, like all other countries and states, does not allow people to realize these goals, particularly not if they are Native or Mexican Americans, or belong to any other ethnic minority, D-QU often had to go against the U.S. government and its agencies and policies. Thus, the very ideological foundations of D-QU, and American "Democracy" respectively, are the causes for the lasting and increasing antagonism between D-QU and the power structure of the state. Ideologically, D-QU poses a basic and real threat to the values and the very foundations of U.S. society. The government agencies, however, unable to cope with the spiritual challenge and even less able to make necessary changes radical enough to alter the situation as a whole, could only and have only answered in the manner open to capitalist bureaucracies and centralized state powers: cutting funds, tying D-QU down in investigations, in audits, or court cases, and harassing and slandering individuals and the whole institution alike. (c.f. 117 - 122.).

If, however, we look at the actual size of D-QU, the small numbers of people involved, the amount of money and materials spent and the political or ideological quality of the projects and initiatives D-QU was involved in, the government reactions seem ridiculous and senselessly out of proportion with what D-QU has done so far. It has not trained revolutionary militants, it has not called for the overthrow of the U.S. government, it has never asked to burn and destroy. Instead, at D-QU a group of people have tried to establish a place to control their own lives and manage their own affairs, in educational and other matters. The goal of D-QU has been to establish no more than the rights and liberties guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution. In spite - or because - of all this, the FBI and HEW have sought since 1972/73 to close D-QU down. Obviously, the ideological threat posed by the values of D-QU is so fundamental that these agencies can only over-react in this hysterical manner. Stripped of

any values and based on the greed for money and power, i.e., on "free competition" and "the survival of the fittest", they would have to question the very foundations of their own existence if they were to listen to the ideas followed by D-QU. Afraid to face their own ethical bankruptcy, they lash out against those who acknowledge this bankruptcy and are trying to find a way out of it.

To me, this over-reaction shows, that the ideals and objectives of D-QU are so sound and pertinent that they touch the very center of the Euro-American dilemma. D-QU's message is important and must not die, and it needs and deserves support despite D-QU's internal problems, despite personal failures and inadequacies of people involved, despite grief and bad feelings it has undoubtedly caused to some people who were involved formerly. D-QU is an idea, a dream, a "miracle" (Sarah Hutchison) and D-QU is a hope for the future, - not only for Native Americans, but for all those concerned about the brutality, the cynicism and the lack of non-exploitative values in capitalist societies.

4.1. Extensions and Projects

In 1972/73 D-QU was given control of a 3.1 million dollar Migrant Farmworker Project, sponsored by the Department of Labor (DOL) designed to train and teach migrant Mexican workers and people involved with them. This project, as it turned out, was one of many Mexican-American centered programs by the Nixon administration, probably designed as a vote pay-off to Chicano voters in California. The Watergate hearings, later on, proved that members of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President (CREP) also manipulated other DOL programs and were active in several California-based Chicano projects. It cannot be proved at this point, whether the Migrant Worker Project was, indeed, such a program, designed to pay-off the pro-Nixon Chicano voters while at the same time trying to "neutralize" or set against each other those members of the Chicano community who opposed Nixon and who were therefore considered "radical".[58] However, there are other aspects seeming to indicate such double-strategy on the federal side. For instance, the program was first offered to the State of California, but the state backed off and handed it over to D-QU, while, at the same time, assigning a Chicano person to D-QU to be in charge of part of the program. This person, although having his office at D-QU, was not paid by funds from the project itself but was paid by the California State DOL. Later suspicions that he may have been "planted" there seem not unlikely in the light of the Watergate hearings. And there were other structures within the program and in the set-up of the Chicano community in California, geared to causing further difficulties for D-QU.

The program came from outside and had little or nothing to do with the interests of an Indian-Chicano university. Consequently, Jose de la Isla hired an executive director for the whole project, who in turn recruited his own staff. Thus, an administrative structure within the D-QU structure was established, dealing with a very great amount of money and therefore a lot of power. Whereas the top positions within that program administration were directly responsible to de la Isla and the D-QU board, whose unity remained firm, the lower ranks were filled by various groups, individuals and members of different factions within the Chicano community, who were in reality often fighting each other. The situation was further complicated by the fact, that the project headquarters at D-QU served several different sites in California, such as Chicano communities in Fresno, Blythe, Stockton, Gilroy and Modesto, who, again, had different goals, histories and structures. All of them had been existing

autonomously before, and had been affiliated or not affiliated with the GCEP, the self-supporting Greater California Economic Project. The GCEP itself was interested in running the program and tried, in fact, through some of its members, to gain control over the D-QU board (Later on, GCEP did gain control of the program, mismanaged it and ceased to exist.). In 1972 eight Chicano board member positions came up for re-election, including one of the student representatives. On voting day, busloads of people arrived from several D-QU extension sites to vote on getting their own candidates elected to the D-QU board. They eventually were successful in getting seven members on the 32 member board, but never managed to gain complete control over the whole program. While it ran quite smoothly during the first 12 months of its 18 months duration, there was always some disagreement on the board by those seven members elected at the meeting just mentioned. With only six months left in the program, one extension site wanted to purchase some tractors and other equipment and sought approval from the board. However, since there was so little time left, the D-QU administration and the board felt that the equipment should be leased instead. Nevertheless, DOL overruled the board and allowed the extension to buy those materials. When the project ended, six months later, DOL asked that all equipment be returned to D-QU. This was contrary to previous practices, when DOL had allowed project members to keep equipment even after the official termination of the respective programs until a time when these pieces of equipment were needed by another project. A couple of the extension sites refused to return the items as they felt that they should be allowed to keep the materials on their premises until some other DOL or government project requested their use. This demand by those extension site members was only in line with previous government practices. They felt, - and rightly so - that they were being discriminated against by DOL, who forced them to do things not previously requested from other non-Chicano institutions. So, they had some very specific reasons for not returning the equipment.

The matter was further complicated by the fact that the sites were asked to return the equipment to D-QU - not to DOL or another project, although at that time D-QU had no use for all the materials. This antagonized the extension-site members in question and turned them against D-QU. Again, the antagonism was increased by DOL's further request that D-QU should see to it that all materials were returned. When, at first, D-QU refused to take this "overseer" function, DOL even came up with special funding for this task. However, as D-QU had anticipated and told DOL, the mentioned Chicano groups grew rightfully indignant of this policy and continued to refuse returning the equipment to the university, which had thus been manipulated into fulfilling a function antagonistic to Chicano self-determination (a good example of how the colonizer manages to set the colonized to fighting each other.). When finally D-QU told DOL that it was impossible for them to collect all the equipment, but that they had fulfilled their task to ask all project members to return the items, and had collected some of them, DOL gave their verbal agreement to close the whole program. The release of a final sum, to be paid to D-QU after having administered the program, was a further evidence of DOL's agreement that the whole project was closed.

Two years later, however, a new director was appointed to the DOL Region IX Office, located in San Francisco, who then all of a sudden accused D-QU to have misspent and mismanaged federal funds, and who finally turned the matter over to the Department of Justice. This lead to years of government investigations and harassment.

Many of the inconsistencies of DOL's and the State of California's handling of the Migrant Worker Project can only be understood when viewed as a manipulative effort to cause D-QU

trouble and to increase factionalism within the community of the oppressed. Likewise, the evidence brought forth by the Watergate hearings seem to indicate that this particular project would very likely have been a target for CREP, - just as CREP also managed to manipulate the Trail of Broken Treaties on its arrival in Washington, D.C., in November 1972, forcing them to occupy the BIA - building. The "occupation" of D-QU during the DOL migrant project by some GCEP-Chicanos may well indicate similar "agent provocateur" - tactics, here. However, as is the case in so many similar occurrences, it is highly unlikely that this matter will ever fully be cleared up. As a whole, and from an outsider's retrospective point of view, the migrant farm worker project seems to have been far too large for a young and struggling institution like D-QU, and the only "blame" that can be put on the leaders of D-QU is that they should not have accepted the offer at all, as was suggested by some board members. On the other hand, such a large sum was by far too tempting to be refused by poor people, although it eventually helped to weaken the D-QU community at that time and served to give D-QU the bad reputation which has persisted in large circles until today.

Another large project, funded by the U.S. Office of Education (Title IV, B, Indian Education Act of 1972), was the D-QU Native American Language Education Project (NALE), carried out on the Papago and Zuni Reservations in Arizona in 1973-1975, under the directorship of Cipriano Manuel (Papago, Santa Rosa Community) and the associate-directorship of Frank J. Lee (Mono, D-QU). It involved numerous elders and concerned educators on both sites over a period much longer than the project proper. The initial achievements of this project were documented as early as February 1976,[59] but since the report and evaluation published by Howard Adams and Jack Forbes then turns out as too optimistic - at least with regards to the Papago Project - a new evaluation seems appropriate here. The report says, that the tribal government at Sells became supportive of the project and that the project moved from Santa Rosa to Sells accordingly. As it turns out, however, the tribal government and the BIA-agents in the tribal capital remained basically hostile and helped to kill-off this grass-roots project, - this is what the former director, Cip Manuel told me in an interview during a field trip to Papago in March 1980.[60] Plans for the language teaching project at Papago, in itself, started already in 1971, before D-QU became involved, and it was then discussed in a very small community whose elders developed the ideas without outside involvement. The novelty of the project - teaching standard curricula in the Native language - led to its immature publicizing and propagandizing and finally killed it, when the contact with its local community loosened. Today, the materials developed by the NALE project on Papago are no longer in use, excepting a very few individual teachers employed by the tribally controlled Papago Department of Education which caters mostly for pre-school education and off-reservation students in boarding schools. Neither the public, nor the BIA, nor the church schools have taken up the idea, most of their teachers being non-Papago, anyway. Thus, the cultural alienation, particularly the linguistic retardation of Papago students is increasing steadily, as they end up neither mastering English properly, nor speaking their own tongue. Just as the only and last keeper of one remaining Papago religious sanctuary will probably die within the next ten years, so it is foreseeable that in one or two decades Papago will have died as a spoken language, unless there are some immediate and drastic changes.

Fortunately, the situation is **very** different on the Zuni Reservation.[61] The Zuni Curriculum Development Program, directed by Eric Bobelu, who was also involved in the NALE project, continues to develop teaching materials in the Zuni language, also providing teaching services

to local schools throughout the reservation. One thing favoring the development of such a project on Zuni is the fact that all the students learn to speak Zuni in their homes, and that Zuni is a language still very much in use and alive. This mirrors the homogeneity and strength of the Zuni community in general. Another thing favoring the use of Zuni as a language for instruction is the recent establishment of Zuni as a School District of its own under exclusive control of the Zuni people. The Zuni School District was officially created on January 1, 1980, and the facilities will be handed over to the Zuni Board of Education on July 1, this same year. People are rightfully optimistic about this development, and the Zuni Language Development and Education Program is busy preparing courses and additional materials to be used in the schools of the pueblo.

The history of the NALE project indicates that D-QU has been successful only where the people on the site stood united in support of the language project (Zuni) and has failed where internal tribal feuding and dissension prevailed (Papago). Obviously, D-QU's role as a funding-raising station, providing expertise, facilities and manpower, excluded involvement in local affairs. The people themselves decided on the direction of the whole project, reaching their own conclusions and coping with their own difficulties. Unfortunately, colonialism has destroyed the Papago community to such an extent that the project was never welcomed by the "representatives" of the people as a whole, and consequently, it died. Today, there is no more official contact between D-QU and the former NALE supporters on Papago or the Language Development Program on Zuni.

However, D-QU is still involved in a series of other community projects, off campus. For example, there are and always have been D-QU extension programs on various sites in California, such as Hoopa, Redding, Greenville, Round Valley, Santa Rosa, San Jose, Lakeport and Blythe. Such extensions are usually founded by indigenous people living in those areas and seeking to establish their own education programs according to the needs of their respective communities. In these cases, the university functions as a roof for several sites, helping them to receive funding as D-QU extensions and being involved in the training of teachers or sending teachers out there. The extension programs allowed the people on the site to receive an education on the spot from pre-school to junior college without leaving the community. Also, D-QU was involved in helping the extension communities to get into various careers-and BIA-programs for funding their own educational needs. This kind of community involvement turned out the most successful off-campus activity D-QU ever undertook. However, it also served to drain energy, manpower and financial resources away from the campus proper, and may be in part responsible for D-QU's difficulties to reach high on-campus enrollment figures.

Besides larger projects and regular extension programs, D-QU has also been involved in several other projects and activities to be mentioned here, such as a farm-worker co-operatives program, training administrators and instructors for Chicano community development in 1976-77, and a teachers' training program (fifth year, after college graduation) financed by federal funds from the EDPA in the early years. The teachers' training program, educated prospective teachers in Native American Studies and Community Development. Unfortunately, the program interfered with D-QU's application to be accredited as a Junior College, and had to be given up accordingly. It turned out later, that comparable institutions such as the Navajo Community College, circumvented this problem, finding ways to be financed for both purposes and still being accredited as a junior college, so that D-QU could also take up the teachers' training again, if interest and funds allow.

4.2. CIEA and AIHEC

The involvement of the California Indian Education Association (CIEA) in the establishment of D-QU has already been pointed out, and D-QU, in turn, has sought cooperation with this organization. In November 1979, for example, the CIEA held their annual meeting on the D-QU campus, thus strengthening the ties between local teachers and educators throughout California and the university. Also, D-QU sponsored a Third World Conference in 1974, a Festival of Science in 1978, a conference of the National Indian Institute for Mental Health in 1973 and many other comparable events.

Throughout the history of D-QU, funding has been the most painful problem, either because funds were not available at all or because those funds made available were given under certain conditions - "categorical money" for projects and programs determined by HEW, the Labor Department, etc. In order to become truly self-determining, however, D-QU needed to have full control over finances as well, and a roof organization was needed to attract larger sums of money, available as *general* funds, for the disposal of D-QU and other institutions like it. So far, the only nationally successful organization attracting general funds - in this case for law cases etc. - was the Native American Rights Fund, established after the model of the California Indian Legal Service, and D-QU's ideas went in the direction of founding a comparable organization for Indian junior colleges throughout the U.S.

By the early seventies more than ten tribally controlled Indian community colleges had been established, following in the footsteps of the Navajo Community College. In this group D-QU was the only institution not under the control of an official, BIA-sanctioned and BIA-funded tribal government, in other words: D-QU was (and is) the only college not controlled by the colonizer and his agents, within or without Indian communities. Besides these Native American controlled colleges there were also various Native American Studies programs and departments throughout the United States by that time. The Higher Education Act of 1965 specifically set aside 1.4% of Title III funds for Indian Colleges similar to the Navajo community college, but in the Fall of 1972 some NAS programs from several universities all over the U.S. (e.g., Univ. of Minnesota, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Univ. of Arizona, UC Berkeley and UCLA) attempted to establish a national organization representing their programs and coordinating their efforts to secure Title III funding. This initiative clearly went against the wishes of D-QU and the tribally controlled community colleges, and before the National Indian Education Association could sanction the foundation of this new organization, D-QU and supporters moved to found their own fully Indian-controlled organization, the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC), and the NIEA's supported them. In January 1973 a first meeting convened in Washington, D.C., and AIHEC was established officially, the term "Consortium" corresponding with the term used in Title III of the Higher Education Act. However, at the Washington meeting, a consultant for AIHEC had also asked members of the BIA-controlled institutions of higher education to join them. This move caused considerable problems, not only because it invited some agents of colonialism into the new organization but also because the BIA schools could not meet the requirements set up in the Title III regulations of being under Indian control. It took several meetings and a determined effort to work the consortium into a less colonialized type of organization. The overall objectives of AIHEC are: (1) to help Indian controlled junior colleges achieve *accreditation*, -possibly, to become the accreditating body inself,- (2) to help those institutions receive *general*

funds, (3) to help *develop curricula*, and (4) to *coordinate communication* and contacts between all colleges involved. In 1978, due to heavy pressure from AIHEC, the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act was passed, authorizing funds to be made available to all India community colleges chartered or sanctioned by tribal governments. Initially, the Act had only been designed for institutions actually "chartered" by a tribe, i.e., its government. This would have put all colleges under the direct influence of BIA-controlled agencies, and it took D-QU and supporters within AIHEC and in the Washington lobbies a long and hard fight to have the term changed from "chartered" to "chartered or sanctioned". Now, the Act makes funds available to all Indian controlled junior colleges chartered or sanctioned by at least one tribal government. The term "sanctioned", does not give the tribal government any control over the college, other than the threat of withdrawing the sanction. By that time (1978) D-QU changed from a joint Indian-Chicano board of directors to an all-Indian board, as described above, and it is now officially, a fully-accredited all-Indian controlled community college. In 1979-80 D-QU was sanctioned by the tribal governments of the Soboba Indian Reservation (Southern California) and the Hoopa Indian Reservation (Northern California), as well as by the Inter-tribal Council of California and the CIEA. Thus, at least officially, - D-QU would now be eligible for funds made available by the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges Assistance Act.

At present, AIHEC has 16 official members on its board, each being a representative of one Indian community college in the U.S. and being the chairman of its respective board of directors. There are several associate members and some institutions who have applied for membership, so that this board will rise with the number of new Indian community colleges going up in the U.S. David Risling, chairman of the D-QU board of directors, also served as chairman on the AIHEC board during 1979. Presently, AIHEC is seeking to be recognized as an accreditating body for Indian controlled community colleges, thus taking the accreditation procedure out of the hands of totally white-controlled accreditation committees, such as the Western Association of Schools and Colleges, on whose accreditation board there are no Native Americans but two christian nuns - evaluating Indian Spiritual curricula!

4.3. Sun Dance, Longest Walk, 500 Mile Run

The arrival of Dennis Banks at D-QU marks certain changes on the D-QU campus, which may or may not have been intended by all the people involved. As a Sun Dancer, who had pledged to take part in the ceremony each summer, Banks went resolutely against all uses of drugs or alcohol on campus, and, to this day, D-QU is a "dry" place so that people who do not want to or cannot give up drinking altogether have to do so off-campus, if at all. The same rule applies to the use of drugs, e.g.: when Darrel Standing Elk came to D-QU, he found the implements for smoking marijuana in the existing sweatlodge out there. He consequently tore the lodge down, burnt it and started building the Seven-Pointed Star sweat-lodge site on what has now become the D-QU ceremonial grounds in the northeast of the D-QU site.[62]

Dennis Banks had pledged to dance the Sun Dance each summer but was unable to return to South Dakota to attend, or even to leave California, and since Darrell Standing Elk had already started to build the sweat lodges, the Sun Dance eventually came to D-QU. Since 1976, in late summer each year, there has been a Sun Dance at D-QU, attracting people from various tribes who have either danced in the Sun Dance themselves or have watched the ceremony, - this includes people not from the Plains-region originally.

The establishment of the D-QU ceremonial grounds, including a permanent Sun Dance arbor and several sweat lodges, has marked the increasing importance of D-QU as a cultural and religious center, where Plains Indian religion and language are taught and practiced, not as a form of "Plains Indian cultural imperialism" but as an encouragement to all Indian people - and others - that such a return to traditional ways is possible. Parallel to this, D-QU has become more involved in the activities of AIM in California and elsewhere, especially around the Bay Area, and there are ties with the Oakland Survival School, directed by Bill Wahpepah.

In 1977 and 1978 the white backlash, cutting down on all "improvements" in the U.S. Indian policy, reached an unprecedented high, and there were several bills in congress intended to terminate all U.S. government trust responsibilities towards Indians. This was a revival of Euroamerican chauvinism combined with unmasked economic greed, - the move for termination was designed to make all natural resources in Indian land more easily accessible to the big corporations. Seeing this and believing in the strength of Indian people as a whole and their determination to halt this process, the people at D-QU initiated the Longest Walk, starting from the ceremonial grounds on the DQU campus and from Alcatraz Island as two historical and spiritual landmarks of the Indian struggle for self-determination. The Walk crossed the American continent from coast to coast, starting in the west on February 11, and arriving at Washington, D.C. on July 15, 1978. In moving from west to east it symbolically reverted the process of destruction begun by the European intruders and it followed prophecies alive in several tribes, saying that the reversal of the colonizing-process shall start from the West and move towards the East.

The Longest Walk was covered in the European press (France, West Germany, East European countries, Scandinavia, etc.) and there were some reports on television. Also, delegations of Native Americans arriving in Europe in April and May alerted the public to this event.[63] In the U.S., however, a total news-blackout was almost completely successful.

The Walk moved from the Bay Area across the Sierras, past Reno and through the Nevada desert, it crossed the Rocky Mountains going through Utah and Colorado, and moved through Kansas and Missouri, crossing the Mississippi River at St. Louis. From there it went through Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, the northernmost part of West Virginia, through New York State and south again through Maryland to Washington, D.C., culminating in a big demonstration in front of the Capitol. There were traditional leaders, elders, and medicine men from all over the U.S., and an internal power struggle, caused by a few national Indian leaders who wanted the publicity to promote their own cause was prevented with the help of the elders, who supported the Walk and wanted it to be a totally peaceful, spiritual, and peace-seeking event.

The Longest Walk, combined with other resistance to the bills in and outside the United States was successful in letting them fail in Congress. Moreover, the Longest Walk has shown to all people alike, Indians and Non-Indians, that Native Americans work together in unity and harmony, across the whole continent. It was much more than a big political demonstration, it was a spiritual event unprecedented in the U.S., planned by and started from D-QU, which remained its logistic headquarters throughout the event. Here, the university was involved in an Indian community struggle of the largest scale, and there are already plans this year, to have another such event, another Walk, starting from D-QU in the first days of June and reaching Washington before election day, November 1, 1980 (announcement by Dennis Banks on the UC Davis "quad" on April 24, 1980; c.f. pp. 133-136 of this study.)

The 500 Mile-Run, attracting attention to the situation of political prisoners like Leonard

Peltier, was also initiated at D-QU and started off from there down to Los Angeles.

Events like the Longest Walk or the 500 Mile-Run have a double function: to arouse the public to the plight of Native Americans today, and, more importantly, to strengthen the morale of Indians fighting for self-determination by giving concrete examples of Indian endurance and dedication. Thus, like the Sun Dance, they are another expression of Indian cultural renewal and self-awareness.

4.4. Alternative Energy

From the beginning, D-QU has striven to be an example of how to live on Mother Earth in a non-exploitative way, and the set goal for the year 2,000 is to become a self-sufficient community, autonomously providing food and energy. As long as the land does not belong to D-QU, however, these plans cannot be fulfilled, and the first and foremost struggle is and has been to gain possession of the site in full-title unrestricted ownership.

In the nine years of its existence the D-QU site has been transformed from a barren army communication site, staked by hundreds of telegraphy poles, to a well-irrigated agriculturally productive set of fields where rice, corn, and other crops are grown by a sympathetic farmer who temporarily farms the land for D-QU. Unfortunately, HEW does not allow D-QU to use the proceeds from this land for the operation of the college. Also, there are numerous birds, rodents and other animals for whom D-QU has become a refuge: marsh-hawks and owls hunt mice and moles on the site, migrating birds will stop over the flooded fields in early spring, and pheasants, ducks, and hares thrive on this "reservation", undisturbed by red-necked hunters who roam the adjoining fields and ditches. More importantly, several sacred eagles visit the site.

Besides making the land fruitful and abundant in plants and animals again, D-QU has been involved in several other life preserving projects, including plans for winning geothermal energy, and, in recent years, in collecting solar energy as well as production of gasohol fuel. The foundations for a solar home for students were laid in Fall 1979, following the design developed by D-QU students in one of Mike Corbett's classes taught at the university, and the old kitchen building has already been fitted with an extension facilitating the use of solar energy. Also, there are definite plans to use the D-QU crops for producing gasohol fuel on site, once the land has been acquired in full title.

There were some serious doubts about this project at first because the production of alcohol, even for fuel, on a "dry" site like D-QU seemed a contradiction, and several board members were reluctant to give their consent. Also, they saw the possible danger, that D-QU might become dependent on the gasohol-agribusiness industry, but eventually, a structure was agreed upon that would not allow the project to "choke" D-QU.

Again, the gasohol and solar energy projects must be understood in the larger context of D-QU's spiritual goals. Just like the aims of the institution are directed to helping indigenous people in general, they are also set up in a way to help the survival of all people on earth. Any alternative that stops the rape of Mother Earth will be in the interest of all mankind, and it is of direct and immediate importance to Native Americans in particular, whose remaining lands are threatened by strip mining, dehydration, uranium pollution or flooding. The survival of Mother Earth is both a spiritual and a material prerequisite for Indian survival, just like the continuance of Indian languages, religions and life styles. Thus, the involvement in the

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search for nondestructive and nonexploitative forms of energy production, is just another aspect of D-QU's community involvement on the largest scale.

Photo by Jon Johnston

Jane Fonda and Solar Developer Mike Corbett look on as DQU Chancellor Dennis Banks speaks at a press conference held Friday at the Native American University located six miles outside of Davis.

Fonda, Locals Talk Energy...

(cont. from front page)

raised on the school's 643 acres for food and conversion to ethanol fuels. "We want the school to be a completely self-sufficient community within itself," he said.

Fonda's presence stemmed from a long friendship with Dennis Banks, and from the Campaign for Economic Democracy's local support of DQU.

"Native Americans have always been trying to tell us that theirs is another way to relate to the environment," Fonda said.

Her comment was echoed by others at the press conference. "These people have lived here for thousands of years without destroying the resources," Corbett said. "What is happening at DQU is important for the survival of the nation, and the world."

Councilmember Kopper, who was present to read a resolution by the Davis City Council in support of DQU, said "these are the only people who can live with nature . . . I believe that the work here is necessary. They're working to blend the past with the present."

At the groundbreaking ceremonies, Fonda and Banks posed for photographers. "I've never done this before," Fonda quipped. The two then struck an American Gothic pose, portraying the proud farmer and his wife out in the fields.

The solar dorm, which will house six people, will cost $20,000 to build. Students in Corbett's class on community development and design will provide the labor as part of the lab section for the course.

Donations and fund raising events such as Friday evening banquets have funded the project. "We have received no support from the federal government," Banks said.

The conference, cosponsored by DQU and the UC Davis Experimental College, included seminars on pesticide use in agriculture, uranium mining in the Southwest, coal-fired power plants and the applications and produciton of ethanol as a fuel. Fonda participated in a panel discussion on "Energy and a Safer Tomorrow" later in the afternoon.

Fonda restated her

Fonda, Locals Talk Energy At DQU

By KEITH PRONSKE

Actress Jane Fonda, Davis City Councilmember Bill Kopper and solar developer Mike Corbett appeared Friday at a day-long conference held at DQ University, located six miles west of Davis.

The conference was highlighted by groundbreaking ceremonies for the school's first student solar dormitory and by a benefit banquet dinner with Fonda and DQU Chancellor Dennis Banks as the keynote speakers.

Fonda, at a press conference with Banks, Corbett and Kopper, said her recent nationwide speaking tour left her feeling very depressed about the federal government.

She also spoke in praise of DQU's effort at energy conservation. "Many people don't believe that alternative energies can work," she said. "That is why it is important to protect DQU, for they will show that it can work," she said.

During the press conference Banks unveiled the schools' plans for completely solarizing the university by 1985, with the solar housing for students the first step to that end.

Mike Corbett, developer of Village Homes in Davis and a lecturer at DQU, is the master designer for the school's solar conversion.

Banks said it is more economical to build new, solar-heated structures with wind-generated electricity than to retrofit the existing buildings, which were used by the navy as a communications center.

There will be no conventional systems for back-up power, Banks said, adding that crops will be

(please see back page)

The California Aggie
December 3, 1979

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER FOUR (COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT)

D-QU is actively involved in a "community struggle" on a worldwide scale, fighting for self-determination of the oppressed indigenous peoples of the Americas, and for cultural and physical survival in general. These goals necessarily contradict the actual policies of capitalist societies, and have led to increased antagonism between D-QU and main-stream society.

D-QU has taken an active and leading part in several educational projects for Chicanos and Indians, on and off campus. Moreover, the university is deeply involved in organizing Native Americans in their general struggle for a better education. D-QU has become a spiritual center from where several all-Indian political and spiritual initiatives have started. The protection of Mother Earth and the production of non-destructive energy are among D-QU's foremost goals.

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Indianer mot kärnkraften

ETT av kärnkraftsmålsmännens argument inför folkomröstningen går ut på att människorna med världens fattiga länder och folk behöver kärnkraftsutbyggnad och ökad energiförbrukning i den rika världen.

I själva verket utgör kärnkraften med sina konsekvenser för miljön, samhällsekonomin, rustningskapplöpningen och demokratin ett hot inte minst mot jordens fattiga människor. Kärnkraften ger ingen välfärd.

I världens rikaste land, USA, tvingas den fattigaste minoriteten, indianerna, allt aktivare ingripa motståndet mot kärnkraften i sin kamp för den kulturella och fysiska överlevnaden.

Indianreservaten motsvarar ungefär fyra procent av USA:s yta. Det är en ödets ironi att denna reservatmark, som 1000-talets vita stormtrupper ansåg sig kunna undvara, rymmer mer än hälften – kanske två tredjedelar – av uranfyndigheterna innanför USA:s gränser (förutom ansenliga mängder kol, olja och naturgas).

Med uran driver man kärnkraftverk. Långt före embargoskräcken i Teheran hade Vita huset sett sig om efter en tryggad inhemsk energiförsörjning, oblockerbar för arabiska oljepåtryckningar.

Shiprock

På 50-talet började gruvbolaget Kerr McGee bryta uran för USA:s atomvapenprogram vid Shiprock på navajoindianernas mark i New Mexico. I början av 70-talet upphörde brytningen att vara lönsam för bolaget. Kerr McGee tackade för sig och lämnade kvar ett radioaktivt uranverk, ett upprivet landskap, enorma mängder oöverblickbara sluggmassor (med 85 % av uranets ursprungliga strålning), andningsvägsförändringar och besvärsmål och en rad cancerfall bland befolkningen.

20 indianska gruvarbetare från Shiprock (900 invånare) har dött i lungcancer (orsakad av radongas från uranbrytningen) och många fler väntar sjuka och hostar sina i väntan på det oundvikliga.

Navajofolket är mycket fattigt. Arbetslösheten i Navajo Nation (Navajoreservatet) är mer än 50-procentig. Hälften av de 160 000 navajoindianerna talar ingen engelska. De är inte fackligt organiserade. De har aldrig blivit informerade om riskerna med uranhanteringen.

– De vita männen stod utanför och lurade in oss navajoer i den dammiga gruvan direkt efter sprängningarna. De jagade in oss som om vi vore slavar, berättar en cancersjuk f d gruvarbetare i senaste numret av den mycket informative indiantidskriften Akwesasne Notes.

Lungcancer

Vid pueblon Laguna i New Mexico öppnade Anaconda-bolaget (numera ägt av ARCO Oil) för 25 år sedan det största dagbrottet för uranbrytning i USA. Nu är 25 navajoindianer från Laguna döda. Diagnos: lungcancer. Detta var tidigare en jordbruksbygd. Nu finns där delen kärnreaktorer i stället för människor. Slaggbergarna dominerar landskapet. 1972 upptäckte myndigheterna att pueblons vatten var smittat av radioaktivitet.

I byn Mexican Hat i Navajo Nation använde indianerna ett övergivet uranverk som skola i flera år innan de varnades. I flera samhällen runt uranguvorna har befolkningen använt den radioaktiva slaggen som murbruk till sina hus.

Indianreservaten i Nordamerika hör till de ledande uranproducenterna i världen. Men trots 25 års energiutveckling i New Mexico är fattigdomen och arbetslösheten där förfärande lika utbredd. De små resthanska och indianska samhällena lukar under kraftledningar, marken under dem genomkorsas av pipelines. Samtidigt saknar många av hyarna elektricitet och rinnande vatten.

Sju bolag

Exploateringen av Navajo Nation har skett och sker med bistånd av inrikesdepartementets indianbyrå, BIA. Kontrakten med energibolagen ska förmodligen just genom BIA, som juridiskt är en sorts förmyndare för indianerna. Sju bolag kontrollerar merparten av USA:s uranförekomster. Störst av dem är Kerr McGee (bekant bl a för fallet Karen Silkwood).

Nu har den andra uranbomben inletts. Uranet är en hörnsten i USA:s energiplanering för 80-talet.

I dag finns i Navajo Nation 33 uranguvor och tre uranverk. Utbyggnaden ska optimeras. BIA räknar officiellt med 160 gruvor och tio uranverk år 2000. Detta innebär att människor måste tvångsförflyttas.

Nyligen fick 9 000 navajoer nerv om Black Mesa beslutat om att de hemmen ett vilkas från sina hem. 1000 ska de flyttas till en bosvagnsby på annan ort.

I Mount Taylor, beläget inom heligt av navajoindianerna, gräver sig Gulf Oil in i en uranguva som av bolaget själv karaktäriseras som "förbundsdrets projekt". Och i delstaten South Dakota tog den federala regeringen genom några snabba namnteckningar 1975 över kontrollen av en fjärdedel av Pine Ridge-reservatet, där man upplåtit en rik uranfyndighet.

South Dakota

South Dakota i Mellanvästern är det nya heta området i uranjakten. I Black Hills, på gränsen till Wyoming, har 27 energibolag mutat in jaktmarker. Geigermätarna slår bakut av förtjusning. Nya guldgrävarsamhällen växer upp med ifart i detta naturskönna berge- och skogsmassiv, som i ett aldrig upphävt nordfördrag från 1868 tillerkändes sioux-indianerna "så länge gräset växer".

Allt detta sker inte utan protester. Tusentals demonstranter har marscherat mot Mount Taylor. Och det kommer att bli strid om Black Hills; sioux-ernas heliga Paha Sapa, symbol för Lakota Nation, för indianernas motstånd och krav på självstyre. Något otroligt håller också på att hända: radikala indianer från American Indian Movement och vita fredsrörelsen med indiankrävande har gått samman i miljögruppen Black Hills Alliance för att slå vakt om människornas rätt till marken och livet.

De har lärt känna från nyårsfesten i USA, där kärnkraftsmotståndet redan stärkt alltför många ofär.

LARS ÅBERG
Frilansjournalist

Foto LARS HEJLL

Fyra procent av USA:s yta är indianreservat. Men de rymmer över hälften av landets urantillgångar. Energibolagens uranjakt tvingar indianerna att förena sin kamp för överlevnad med kamp mot kärnkraften.

International attention and solidarity : article about uranium mining, earth pollution and the Native Americans' fight against these (Dagens Nyheter, Spring 1980), Stockholm, SWEDEN.

5. DQU: A CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE

An independent institution like D-QU, whose aims and objectives are directly opposed to the practices of main-stream society and its public agents, cannot count on strong support from its government. In the late sixties and early seventies, however, the powerful struggle of the American oppressed had forced the U.S. government to make certain concessions to their demands, whereas in the later seventies, with the general decline of the liberation movement, the government could take back former concessions in a truly reactionary manner. The history of D-QU mirrors this development, although, even before its foundation, there were antagonistic forces at work right in the vicinity of the D-QU land site. On the other hand, there have always been outsiders sympathetic to the cause of D-QU, and the strength of the outside support has achieved international dimensions.

5.1. False Allegations

One of the most common forms of political slander in capitalist societies is the allegation that somebody or a given institution is communist or receives financial support from socialist countries, and, of course, D-QU was likewise subjected to this kind of anti-propaganda. Already in the first year of its existence, the local newspaper, obviously "informed" by some enemies of D-QU, started a campaign of massive slandering. On September 20, 1971, the *Davis Enterprise*, one of several small papers in the vicinity, claimed that D-QU was a communist institution, supposedly teaching Marxism, and other local papers, the *Lake Berryessa News*, *Santa Ana Register*, and the *Woodland Daily Democrat*, followed suit. Anonymous articles claimed that D-QU was in radio communication with Peking, and editorials, as usual, expressed fears for the safety of citizens.

The enemies of D-QU are not all that hard to make out: first of all, there are members of the KKK, the John Birch Society, and other ultra-right Euroamerican organizations, who hate to see any non-white group of people achieving anything. They have their centers right in the rural area surrounding Davis, and they can muster support even on the Davis campus - as became clear when, in November 1979, Cesar Chavez, Jane Fonda, and Tom Hayden spoke at the university, and the John Birchers tried to disrupt that meeting. Resistance against D-QU will also be welcomed by local farmers who would like to get hold of the fertile D-QU lands, and who resent to see Indians in control of it. Unlike most reservations and rancheries, D-QU is not located in a dusty or barren area, but right in the heart of the most fertile parts of the Sacramento Valley, and this poses an additional threat to its survival. The connection of D-QU with the Chicano community, many of whom are members of the United Farm Workers Union, will add to the farmers' antagonism against D-QU, and they will see it in their interest to close the place down. Finally, it must be remembered that the powerful agribusiness has direct influence on the politicians involved in the D-QU land case. Local congressman Vic Fazio's reluctance to introduce the bill giving the land to D-QU in fee simple title has certainly been influenced by the conservative farmers in his constituency. In a parliamentary democracy, where politicians will seek to secure re-election at any cost, a new institution like D-QU, not supported by its immediate neighbours, will easily be shunted aside just to appease its enemies and secure their votes.

The false allegations made in editorials and letters to the editors of various local newspapers soon roused the suspicion of the FBI and finally of HEW, but several years of

investigation never brought up any evidence proving D-QU to be anything other than a small Indian-Chicano college struggling for survival. However, a continuous campaign of slandering and hassling was bound to have some lasting effects, even if the allegations were false. As an example: an editorial entitled "Will Violence Close Down D-QU?" (*Davis Daily Democrat*, August 2, 1972) may well serve to damage the reputation of a young and vulnerable institution, even if the article itself provides no proof. However, the mere insinuation, that there may be violence, will cause readers to be alerted, become suspicious and prejudiced, so that, in the end, they will start looking for any sort of violence, totally out of proportion with violence outside D-QU. The above article, relating events concerned with the student resistence against the executive director Jose de la Isla, does not prove its allegations, but it lists several rumours, e.g.: "the knifing of a D-QU cook last August, reports of gunshots on campus, hard drugs, drinking". These are occurrences, that would also take place outside the D-QU campus, but would anybody ever get the idea of asking, whether drug abuse, drinking, or violence in the Davis community will close down UC Davis?

Going through newspaper articles, letters, etc., proves a clear pattern behind all news about D-QU, showing that certain local papers were obviously and intentionally malicious in their handling of any information concerning D-QU. Certainly, this attitude will have pleased many of their readers and will have helped them to keep subscription levels high. Even today, the Davis community is only very scantily informed about D-QU, and there is very little interest in this university. On January 8, 1980, while giving congressman Vic Fazio petitions by German universities supporting D-QU, I was ridiculed by the congressman and met with general amusement when I said, that I had known about D-QU long before I ever heard about UC Davis, - which is the literal truth. One young person in the audience summed up the general ignorance and misinformation in one simple question: "What is D-QU, anyway?"

Arrogance, prejudice, racism and ignorance in the general American public regarding Native Americans, have a lot to do with D-QU's precarious situation today. Of course, this is also a kind of avoidance syndrome. Euroamericans in California are only two or three generations removed from those "settlers" who dispossessed the Native Californians, raped their women, enslaved their children, and killed them by the thousands, and therefore, people try to forget about this nasty historical background and do not like to hear about Native Americans today because this makes them shamefully aware of the Euroamerican role in the history of California (a similar attitude is already prevalent in West Germany with regards to German Jews, Romani, Communists, and Socialists who died in German concentration camps, - people do not want to hear about it any more, thus excluding themselves from learning from this terrible experience).

It is neither necessary nor pleasant, here, to list all the audits, investigations, hearings, etc. to which D-QU has been subjected because of a mounting hostility raised among influential circles. Unfortunately, dissent among the D-QU members and personal grudges have, on several occasions, helped to publicize internal conflicts, leaking biased information to an eager press and making sure that reporters would be on the spot whenever there was the possibility of conflict.[64] Even though the internal conflicts by themselves did never seriously threaten the survival of D-QU as an institution, combined with the press campaign, they had repercussions that went as far as Washington, D.C. More than once, funds already assigned to D-QU for special projects were suddenly halted, and continued FBI investigations, particularly after the arrival of Dennis Banks, one of the prime targets of FBI-harassment,

lead to general distrust and prejudice. An article published in an educational magazine in 1979 sums up the development very neatly.

> ...D-QU has also been the subject of intense FBI investigations. HEW Regional Director Michael Murray wrote, 'The FBI acting on GAO (Government Accounting Office) information and unsubstantiated information provided by unnamed individuals, began in 1977 looking into charges of misuse of federal funds, other acts of fraud and possible criminal violations.' HEW suspended funding to D-QU largely on the basis of these allegations. The FBI spent three years and countless thousands of dollars vainly trying to prove that the school had mismanaged a much smaller amount of money - specific charges involved "padded enrollments", "misuse of government funds", and "destruction of government property". Agents of the FBI have required D-QU to undergo numerous audits, and have tracked former D-QU students across several states to ask them if they were indeed enrolled at the school during the time D-QU records show they were. Only legitimate students have been found, of course, and the money spent in trying to dis-credit the school could have gone a long way toward housing and educating more students at D-QU. [65]

After the three year investigation by the FBI, no charges were raised against D-QU, but the mere fact, that the institution had been under close observation - probably as part of the FBI strategy to infiltrate and destroy the American Indian Movement, of which D-QU is seen to be a part, - has served to discourage all government agencies from giving financial support. In this, the FBI strategy has been successful.

Another great problem facing D-QU, closely linked with the slander-campaign, is the student enrollment on campus. Originally, D-QU was required to have at least 500 students by 1975, but since this figure was totally unrealistic, HEW finally demanded at least 200 students on campus by July 1, 1979, as a proof that D-QU was still serving as an educational institution under the requirements of the original land deed (April 2, 1971). When, in early 1979, it looked as if D-QU would be unable to meet the deadline requirement, HEW ended all funding for the university, thus catching D-QU in an impossible double-bind situation. Without funds, no students could be recruited, and without students, no funds would be available. The cynicism of this HEW decision, published in numerous papers on April 4, 1979, is the culmination of a long standing policy of killing D-QU. The original land-deed does not allow D-QU to reap any profits from the land, and it does not allow for D-QU to raise loans on the land base. Instead, it makes it utterly dependent on a few private donations and funding through government agencies. The proceeds from the agricultural use of the land, however, are held as "trust money" by HEW, thus making it impossible for D-QU to use it according to their own needs. On the other hand, D-QU is left "free" to improve the property, to repair the old buildings or erect new ones, but the university receives no money for this type of work from HEW. An example: in late Fall 1979, one of the old main water pipes on the former army site broke, causing severe difficulties. It flooded part of the campus, and all efforts to repair it were thwarted by HEW's refusal to issue any funds towards the repair of the pipe. Since the pipe system was an old model used by the U.S. Army in the fifties, there were no spare parts available; the measurements were no longer in use, and the people at D-QU were left to find their own way out of the situation, which they did, eventually. Another example: on my first visit to D-QU in September 1979, suddenly the lights went out, because D-QU, having no funds at all, had been unable to pay the electricity bill on time. The president had phoned the company the same day, telling them he would pay the bill in the late afternoon but the electricity was cut off before he had a chance to bring the check. Thus, the HEW-policy not only makes it impossible for D-QU to attract larger numbers of students to the campus, but it even endangers the physical survival of the institution.

Without water and electricity, the buildings and the whole property would soon decay irreversibly, and HEW could accuse D-QU of "destroying government property", etc. It is a vicious circle, and there seems to be no way out of it as long as D-QU does not gain full control over the land and its use.

Now, that FBI has managed to discredit the university in the public opinion and HEW has cut all funds, the Western Association of Schools and Colleges is threatening to withdraw its accreditation of D-QU as a junior college because they lack adequate funds. Again, the vicious circle is only intensified, because a withdrawal of the accreditation would end D-QU's status as an educational facility, - a requirement for holding on to the site under the present deed.

A bill worked out with congressman Fazio, to transfer the land to D-QU was in the pipeline in 1979, but HEW's withdrawal of funds caused Fazio to delay the introduction. A compromise version was worked out in January 1980, but Fazio never moved the bill, so that now, it will not be passed this year, if ever. Wherever one looks, from D-QU, there is a surrounding wall of hostility, every side bent on destroying D-QU's existence. During the last two years, the situation has grown worse and worse.

However, as a spiritual establishment D-QU cannot be killed by hostile establishment forces, but they can very well manage to end the physical existence of D-QU University as an educational facility on the former Army site. The U.S. government, in that case, would loose its first chance in history, to actually return land not already claimed by tribes, to Indians.

5.2. Continuing Support

Maybe it is D-QU's apparently hopeless situation, pitched against all establishment forces, that has helped it to muster a strong and lasting national Native American and international community of supporters. D-QU is a hope for a better future. Seen from outside the U.S.A. or from outside the Indian world, the university stands out as an early and lasting proof of successful Native American and Mexican American self-determination in matters of higher education. For many outsiders, the fact that the most oppressed groups in California, the Mexicans and the Native Americans, have worked together, is one of the most promising aspects of D-QU. They will be dissappointed or even turned off when learning that it has become an all-Indian controlled institution, since. Their dissappointment, however, may also be the result of a eurocentric underestimation of cultural, ethnic, social and religious diversity and its effects on the politics of the oppressed.

From the beginning, D-QU has had to rely on support from outside, not only from Indian or Mexican American communities, but also from supporters outside of these. In the early seventies, "Friends of D-QU", an organization to help raise funds for D-QU, was founded. Besides, there have been individuals and other organizations, ever since, who have tried to support the new institution. People concerned about colonialism about the rape of Mother Earth, about racism and exploitation, will feel inclined to agree with the objectives and aims of D-QU, regardless of their ethnic or national identity. However, although such support from outsiders may seem very necessary, it may not always be welcomed by the people out at D-QU themselves, who rightfully are apprehensive about non-Indians wanting to "help". All too often, such "help" is not given unconditionally or it is meant as a paternalistic show of good will, without really agreeing fully with Native American sovereignty in all matters.

Also, for people who come to D-QU as outsiders with certain values, political beliefs, and theories about the liberation of the oppressed, it may seem impossible to see the D-QU struggle and the ideology of its leadership as congruous with their own beliefs. However, self-determination can only mean total self-control in all matters, including moves which may be interpreted as "mistakes" by outsiders.

There is a growing concern outside the U.S. about the situation of Native Americans today. The building of nuclear reactor plants in Europe, destroying our own landscape there, is understood as the other end of a destructive process that starts right here on Indian reservations, where the uranium mining causes erosion, cancer and death. Speaking tours of Native Americans in Europe, including supporters of D-QU like Phillip Deere, Floyd Westermann, Crow Dog and many others, have helped to generate more interest and ideological support. Of course, as always, those who are supportive of D-Q are not those people in power, who could not care less. They are, instead, young people and people generally concerned about the future of this planet. They are numerous AIM-Support Groups throughout West Germany and neighboring states, they are workers and intellectuals, apprentices, employees, school and university students, young people seeking alternatives to the rotten cultural patterns left over from the christianization of Europe, from numerous "reichs" and empires, from Mussolini, Napoleon, Bismarck, and Hitler. Seeing the older generation unable to understand where the development is leading to, seeing the political theories and slogans from yesteryear still *en vogue* today, many young people turn away in disgust. Some of them, unfortunately, flee into drugs, alcohol and eventual suicide, others become active in bringing about changes. It is these people, who turn to D-QU and what it stands for, seeing a similarity between their own hopes and the ideas of Native Americans. However, this is not only a development of the last ten years. Throughout, there have been people who saw the coming destruction of our Mother Earth.

There are schools that teach their students how to plant and grow without using artificial fertilizers, that teach how to weave, how to make pottery, how to work with wood and other natural materials. Kids learn a blessing like the following: "Earth, who gave to us this food,/ Sun, who made it ripe and good,/ Sun and Earth, by you we live,/ To you our loving thanks we give". There are thousands of farmers and young people who occupy sites of nuclear reactor plants, wanting to halt the further destruction of our environment, there are people who live in communities and raise their own food. They are seeking to halt a mad process that will lead to the final death of this planet. Their numbers are growing, and more and more of them come to realize, that the Native Americans, the keepers of this continent, still possess the best memory of how to live in harmony with creation, and they turn to them for advice. I am not saying "we have it all", but rather that there are some parallels that are encouraging, that there are non-Indian people elsewhere who are concerned. This may sound unbelievable to some Native Americans, at least it seemed to appear so to some I have talked to, but there are other people in other places who do their own thing in their place in the hope of halting the further destruction of life. They may do so in teaching, in growing their own foods, in saying "no" to the infringement of personal liberties by the state power, they may help by writing and publishing, by talking to their elders or by being involved in community development or political activities on various levels.

However, whereas many turn away from society and see the only alternative in establishing their own communities, there is another theory saying that all such alternatives will only

function to uphold the system they are criticizing, not leading to its downfall but strengthening it by providing a safety valve for freaks, or by showing, in practical terms, how "liberal" the system is that tolerates them. There is a dangerous truth in this: all inward-looking alternatives within the established system will have a hard time overcoming it or melting its structures. This also applies to D-QU. Without a change, a radical (= at the roots) change in the whole set-up of our societies, without infringements on private property, without breaking the power of those combines and "multis" who profit from and perpetuate the poverty of the oppressed, without changes in the system of parliamentary democracy in a winner-take-all-for-four-years style, without a decentralization of state monopoly power, there can be no hope for a non-exploitative, non-alienated, non-destructive future and there is little hope for D-QU's survival. As long as social Darwinism is the ruling ideology, the systematic destruction of life will necessarily continue.

Such ideas, it seems, are not shared by most people in the U.S. Many Native Americans, in particular and for their own reasons, are opposed to any talk about theories that may sound Socialist, Marxist, or whatever. Certainly, these theories are not founded in Indian Spiritual thought, they are geared to the situation in Euro-American or Euro-American affected societies, but they are ultimately directed towards the establishment of a world free of exploitation, alienation, destruction and oppression, although they are non-spiritual and despite the fact that they were developed in Europe, from where the destruction of the world through colonialism and imperialism took its course. They are one way, but there are parallels and meeting points with other approaches.

Listening to some Indian persons who have experienced the cynicism of colonialist power most intensely, I found them using terms and phrases to describe capitalism and imperialism, that could equally well be heard from people who have read Marx, Engels, Fanon, Marcuse or other critics of western societies. Listening to Raymond Lego, spokesman of the Legitimate Pit River Nation, was hearing a penetrating analysis of exploitation, fraud, deceit, and the machinations of state monopoly power in industrial capitalist societies. Listening to Cip Manuel talk about how the colonialist BIA-system on the reservation is structured in such a way as to stifle all attempts at self-determination, and that, even if personal changes occurred in leadership, the structure of the system itself would defeat their endeavours, was equally illuminating. They both saw, that personal changes, that an improved Indian leadership, that the help of "good willed" BIA - or other officials, would never solve the antagonism between oppressors and oppressed, and they were not fooled about factionalism between different ethnic groups among the oppressed as an essential part of the system that upholds the power of rulers. This, to me, was the most promising experience. I cannot tell how much socialist theories these people have read, but obviously they saw and understood, from their own experience, that within a capitalist state like the U.S., Indian self-determination cannot be fully realized. So, despite the misgivings that many Native Americans have about Euro-theories, and despite their belief in leadership and individual spiritual efforts, there are those, even among Native Americans themselves, who acknowledge the connection between the Third World and class-struggle and the fight for Indian self-determination. Here, again, there seems to be an area open where D-QU might be able to muster more support, even without hitching on to the bandwagon of an alien political doctrine.

Outside the United States, perhaps more so than within its boundaries, D-QU has aroused much sympathy and concern, also among educators and people involved with universities. There

have been sequences on television about D-QU, articles in educational periodicals, and there have been letters of support from ten German universities, signed by many professors and lecturers, urging Fazio to move the land-bill. These letters, unfortunately, did not bring about the effect they were designed to achieve, nor did those hundreds or thousands of signatures collected by enthusiastic AIM Support Group members in Europe. But, depending on D-QU's interest and effort in utilizing this kind of support, much more could be mustered.

Necessarily, one of D-QU's greatest concerns has always been to raise funds and gather financial support, and there have been speaking tours of people from D-QU, to raise money. They have talked in churches and other communities, and they have, again and again, held fund raising events on the campus. Famous individuals like Jane Fonda, Will Sampson, Floyd Westermann, celebrities of show business, have tried to help D-QU, and many persons from the political arena, like Seantor Cranston, Kennedy, Tom Hayden and many others have given support to the university. Even more important then all these, however, are those many people, most of them Native or Mexican Americans, who have dedicated time, small sums of money, personal efforts and knowledge to help out D-QU. The place has constantly been in need of help and support, and, certainly, many people have worn themselves out in the process of helping D-QU. But their efforts, also, have kept it alive. D-Q is what the people are who actively work in it, for it and with it.

Congressman Fazio received hundreds or even thousands of petitions like the one below. To this date - June 26, 1980 - he has not moved the bill.

Honorable Vic Fazio
House of Representatives
Washington D.C. 20510

PETITION TO CONGRESSMAN VIC FAZIO IN REGARD TO H.R.2449
D-Q UNIVERSITY LAND BILL

We the undersigned urge that you take an unconditional stand toward your D.Q. University Land Bill H.R. 2449 and its passage through the U.S. Congress. 50 Congressmen from the West Coast States have been willing to co-author your land bill in its original form. Although the Congressmen and supporters are waiting for your introduction of this bill, with such delay upon your part, one would think that your attitudes toward D.Q. University are hypocritical. The failure to get this bill passed in its original form, by June of 1980 would be an indictment against you in our opinion. H.E.W.'s, or other governmental agencies, lack of support of the bill can be easily overcome by your strong positive reinforcement.

NAME ADDRESS

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER FIVE (CONTINUOUS STRUGGLE)

From the very start, D-QU has been opposed by conservative and racist establishment forces. Press slander and false allegations have led to FBI and HEW investigations and finally to the cutting of all funds for D-Q. At the same time, there always has been and still is support for D-QU from the outside, particularly from people concerned about how advanced industrial capitalism exploits people and destroys the earth as a whole. Although beliefs and strategy may differ greatly, D-QU is part of a world-wide struggle for a return to respect for life, individual freedom and peace, and it is from this movement that D-QU can and will gain support in the future.

Editorials like this one, asking rhetorical questions on the front pages, helped to ruin D-QU's reputation in the area immediately surrounding the site.

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CONCLUSION

The preceeding pages were written or thought about during a longer period of time in which I had, again and again, to clarify my own position towards D-QU, and although I never had to think twice about supporting or not supporting D-QU, I was always puzzled by some of the difficulties D-QU had and difficulties I had understanding its problems. So, finally, after having tried to relate a short history of D-QU I would like to give my own *personal* ideas about the place, the people, and their problems. If they contain also criticism, it is given in a spirit of critical solidarity, not to hurt or destroy.

First of all, it must be remembered that D-QU exists in a society dominated by Europeans and people of European descent and permeated by their racism. The very reality of organized racism in the USA became obvious to me, when watching John Birchers on the UCD-campus and KKK-people, in arms, marching through Sacramento. Compared to those heavily armed KKK-members escorting their hooded brothers through a southern part of the State Capitol, even the Neo-Nazis in my own country look like "harmless" boyscouts. This country is full of armed people, it is "free" to let its racists march, shout slogans and carry two-barrelled shotguns through a peaceful neighborhood, demanding "White Power". Talking to Native Americans, who had relatives die of violence, who had friends killed by white hit-and-run drivers, who themselves wear scars from encounters with "rednecks", the brutality of racism against Native Americans became more obvious to me. Of course, there is racism in my country, and others too. It is just as ugly there as it is here. I was born into one of the most racist surroundings one can imagine. I am not and I cannot be free of racial prejudice myself, nor were or are any of the people I know free of prejudice - both here and in my own country. Racial prejudices become stronger and stronger the more they simplify an understanding of the complexities of imperialism, colonialism, capitalism, and the more they function to uphold these. They are part of that system and they are utilized to defend it. In this case, racial prejudice works against D-QU.

Within such a surrounding, it is difficult for any minority institution to survive, particularly, if the people running it demand to find and go their own way, not copying colonialist patterns, neither in thinking nor in practice. And this, it seems to me, is the essential dilemma D-QU has been in and still is suffering from. It is not a situation caused by D-QU, but it is rather the problem of the dominant society superimposed upon D-QU and all that has to do with it. D-QU's first and essential struggle, and its continuing problem, is the land-base. There are two ways of looking at this. Basically, I would agree that probably all or at least the greatest part of the U.S. belong to Native Americans. Because, even those parts ceded by treaties hardly belong to those who broke the treaties afterwards. This is the basic right of Native American people: they belong to this land, the land belongs to them. This is a circle of Truth. European or Euroamerican governments, laws, provisions, acts, etc. cannot affect this basic Truth. However, what happens, when Native Americans act according to this Truth? They are driven off, killed, harassed, etc. The situation of the Legitimate Pit River Nation shows this. Nevertheless, they have Truth on their side.

When Native Americans, today, seek to establish their own institutions outside of what is officially regarded as "Indian land" (by the colonialist power) they get into conflict with that power, and they get into conflict with the other side of history, with Truth, as well. If they take what rightfully has belonged to them for ages, they are breaking the

oppressor's laws, - however, if they ask the colonialist power for their consent, they are, tacitly, in agreement with its authority over land that does not belong to the colonizers, - except by sheer force. In asking the colonizer for land, in applying for it through his courts, and in meeting the requirements set up by the colonizer, they submit to his power and his "truth". This happens in contradiction to the rightful title of Native Americans to this continent, it does not follow Truth.

Making this distinction between Truth absolute and the "truth" of Euroamerican law and land-title may sound dogmatic, irrealistic, or idealistic, - and it is, when faced with the social and political realities of the United States today. Nevertheless, I think one should always have both sets of standards and values in mind, when thinking about the situation of D-QU or about any other institution in a similar situation. Certainly, it would be "unrealistic", in a pragmatic, political sense, not to utilize the courts or government committees etc. to acquire the land, and given the material power of the U.S. - government and the material weakness of Indian people, it is the only way Native Americans can go about acquiring what should be in their possession anyway. The other way would be to "occupy" the land and, eventually, be driven out by the agents of the colonizer.

When fighting for the acquisition of the former Army communication center, the supporters of D-QU followed a "twin strategy", i.e., working both within the colonizer's system and at the same time according to inalienable Indian rights to this land (which, in the case of California, cannot even be disputed seriously by the US-government since it failed to ratify the treaties signed with California Indians in the 1850's). Eventually, the twin strategy was successful, and the board was handed the land-deed. However, at this moment, being thus "sanctioned" and dealt with officially by the colonizers and accepting the land-deed from them, the D-QU board automatically also acknowledged their authority, accepted their interpretation of history, became dependent on their system of evaluating educational institutions etc. The other party in the twin strategy, the occupiers and those who had fought from without the system, were no longer needed, because the twins in that strategy had become alienated exponents of two different sets of political methods and values. The language used to describe some of the occupiers, then, became the language even expected from people within the colonizer's system. The twin strategy was, indeed, very successful, but since an official document securing the land for educational purposes was needed and granted at that time, the colonizer, by imposing his own set of standards onto D-QU, shared in the victory, whereas those, who had fought his system from outside became the loosers in a sense. They, eventually, it is said, ran into trouble with law-enforcing agencies, - the agencies of the oppressors, used against all who do not conform to the values and norms of his system. The victory of winning the land from HEW was paid for by a very high price, i.e. accepting the authority of that agency, - and D-QU has suffered from this double-bind situation between being obliged to the colonizer and wanting to help the colonized, ever since.

Again, this has not been the intention of the D-QU board. To the contrary, within the context of U.S. American society, the setting up of D-QU was more liberal, self-determined than the set up of any of the tribally controlled colleges etc., *and it was the only way to achieve anything at all.* However, the case history of D-QU shows, how intricate the structural pattern of internal colonialism works, and how it is impossible, in this society, to establish a truly self-determining institution without having absolute control over the land and becoming economically fully independent from the government establishment.

This dilemma, the schizoid double-bind situation between loyalties to Native American values and the oppressed in general, and the need to cooperate with and run according to the system of the oppressors, has remained with D-QU ever since. It is, as said before, not the problem of D-QU but rather the expression of the inherent contradiction within main-stream society. Again, and again, splits between groups who were more in line with the dominant society and those who had discarded its lifestyle altogether, occurred. This dichotomy of opposing systems is manifest on many levels, e.g., on the one side, D-QU is required to meet the standards of Euroamerican administrative systems, - accordingly, D-QU has all the titles, positions and administrative structures which main-stream institutions have: secretaries, presidents, boards, registrars, deans, etc. This is necessary in order to be recognized as an educational institution acceptable by Euroamerican standards. On the other hand, D-QU has sweat-lodges, holds the Sun Dance, invites traditional religious people, helps former "drop-outs" to find their identity and to become members of the Native American struggle for self-determination. Both systems contradict each other, and whereas the first will always be tied down by the requirements and standards of the main-stream system, the other, at present, can only operate freely and successfully, as long as the official university structure is upheld and serves as a shield to protect traditionalism, or works to keep the land-base on which the sweat-lodges stand. Both systems form a symbiosis, but at times they also contradict and hamper each other.

Even when D-QU as a university strives to give students the necessary skills to survive in main-stream society, it is forced to accept some of the standards, techniques, methods and contents of Euroamerican schooling. It provides skills to survive, but these are also the skills needed to adjust or even be co-opted. There is always the danger either to be co-opted or to be so tied down by audits, investigations, etc. that little time and energy remain to fulfill the truly educative tasks for Indian people. On the other hand there are the traditionalists who go their own way, who do not adjust, who will not "co-operate" with the oppressors. If they follow their own way, as they ought to be able to, D-QU will surely loose the land, and the people involved would have to look for an alternative site.

D-QU cannot by itself solve this basic contradiction which is forced upon them by the colonizer's system. What struck me personally, however, was the degree to which those involved in the administration of D-QU, those who went out and fought for it in Washington or elsewhere, remained independent. They used the system and its loopholes to fight for D-QU, without the system coopting them. That, in itself is a very great achievement of personal integrity and morale. Also, despite all these impediments, D-QU has managed to offer a curriculum geared to the needs of Indian and Mexican people, free of government interference. This is the greatest and most admirable achievement.

A second great problem also has to do with the land-base, but in another way. D-QU is miles away from any larger urban, rural or reservation Indian community. Despite its closeness to Sacramento and its Indian community, and despite the relative closeness of the Bay Area, the Indian community people there cannot be expected to always travel to D-QU. The land-site is isolated, and there are far more Mexican Americans living close by, than there are Indians. Therefore, the involvement of grass-roots local people is restricted ethno-geographically. The running of D-QU is very much tied in with the question of leadership, but, traditionally leaders are only as strong as the support of their community. A Native American elite, intelligentsia or leadership is ineffective without the people

behind them. So, now, more so than ever before, D-QU is recruiting support from reservations and communities throughout the west, and the growing involvement of Indians from Nevada and other states is a promising and encouraging development.

How, then, can the structural problems facing D-QU be resolved? Even if I knew, as a non-Indian outsider, I would not dare to suggest anything, - but, admittedly, I do not know any answers. As long as D-QU suffers from the basic antagonism underlying capitalism, i.e., between the exploiters and the exploited, between dominance and subordination, the problems will stay. As soon as D-QU operates "smoothly", it may well have lost some of its self-determination and become co-opted as a show peace for the liberality of the oppressors. If it does not compromise, if it follows the "radically" spiritual path, it may never even live to speak the Truth. I do see the problems of D-QU as the problems of the oppressors, themselves, and unless those contradictions are solved first, I see no lasting chance to fully realize the self-determination of any oppressed group. There is always the danger of sliding into a ghetto situation, of becoming co-opted, or of being even assimilated. However I do not see these dangers for D-QU right now, the greater danger being that D-QU may loose the land-battle altogether. This must not be allowed to happen. Therefore, the fight goes on.

DQU's long battle for survival

nears climax

By MIKE FITCH

The difficulties which have plagued DQ University, primarily caused by insufficient financing and highlighted by various charges from federal agencies, seem to be approaching a climax.

In the next couple of months, four key frontain DQU's battle for survival will move closer to decision. They involve:

—Financial aid for the native American college's students, now being withheld by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare because an audit of the college was deemed "unacceptable;"

—The possibility of receiving general operation funds under the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act;

—A bill scheduled to be introduced in Congress soon by Rep. Vic Fazio, D-Sacramento, which the author hopes will solve controversy centering on the ownership of the 668 acres occupied by DQU; and

—The accreditation of the college, which will be reviewed during June.

DQU's audit was considered unacceptable for two reasons, according to Robert Crummel, assistant regional director in the HEW's office of student financial assistance.

The first involves Thomas Horsley, who prepared the audit and was subsequently named the college's comptroller. The hiring raises questions about Horsley's independence in preparing the audit, Crummel said.

"They will have to be audited by an independent certified public accountant," he added.

DQU President Steve Baldy said recently that DQUhas hired the firm of Sainz, Vargas & Co. of Los Altos to prepare the new audit. He indicated it may be completed by the end of May.

Secondly, according to Crummel, the working papers used to prepare the audit did not support its conclusions adequately. He declined to discuss specific items, saying that such information is not to be made public at this point.

Baldy indicatedthat the items under question "are primarily technicalities" which need to be cleared up in the second audit.

More than $100,000 is being withheld. Crummel said, "They're not going to get any more money until the audit is done and has been accepted."

The Trihally Controlled Community College Assistance Act is another potential source of income for DQU.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs recently completed a feasibility study into the possibility of providing funds to DQU under the act.

No decision has yet been reached on actual funding, a spokesman for the BIA said this week, but added that the agency hopes to release some decision "very soon."

According to Baldy, DQU could receive about $250,000 under the act in the first year of a five-year program.

Additional revenue will be forthcoming from benefit events, Baldy said, and a couple of proposals for foundation grants have been made.

A long-term solution to financial problems may rest with Fazio's bill.

Pat Fulton, Fazio's chief legislative assistant, said this week that Fazio hopes to introduce the bill within "a week or so."

The bill is an amended, and much negotiated, version of a bill earlier sought by DQU. The amendments increase its chances of success in Congress, Fulton said.

Under the bill, he added, DQU officials "can occupy the property, they can lease the property for profit, they can mortgage the property, but they can't sell it."

DQU would be required to maintain accreditation or some federally approved authorized alternative as a condition for maintaining the land.

"If DQU fails ... the federal government is authorized to file suit to re-enter the land," Fulton said.

Past controversy over the land has centered on whether DQU had met requirements attached to its lease which stipulate that the college maintain certain enrollment level and not use the land for non-educational purposes.

According to Baldy, "DQU is not happy with the bill. We feel that there are some areas that are imposed — that don't have any relevance to an educational institution."

He cited the requirement that the college maintain accreditation or an alternative as an example. Native American colleges have trouble in maintaining accreditation, Baldy said, because their educational standards are different from the "Western European concepts" by which they are judged.

The status of DQU's accreditation will be reviewed by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges in June.

In January, the association issued a "show-cause order" requiring DQU to show why its accreditation should not be withdrawn.

Under the order, DQU was told to make progress reports on "stipulated items" and a visit to DQU was to be made by the association's accrediting commission for community colleges was required.

"I think there's a pretty good chance," Baldysaid, that DQU will retain its accreditation. He has indicated that the college's long-term financing and the qualifications of its fiscal staff are the association's main concerns.

Recently, DQU hired an accountant and two part-time bookkeepers to develop a "fairly decent accounting staff," Baldysaid.

DQU currently has just over 150 students and about 15 instructors, according to Baldy.

Spring 1980,
(source lost)

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FOOTNOTES FOR PART 1

[1]Gwyn Jones (ed.). *Eirik the Red and Other Icelandic Sagas*. (London: O.U.P., 1961), p. 156.

[2]*Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, eds. Edward Arber and A.G. Bradley (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), p. 400 ff.

[3]C.f. William Bradford. *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620 - 1647*,2 Vols. (Boston: Massachusets Historical Society/Houghton Mifflin, 1912), pp. 200-210.

[4]C.f. John Eliot's *Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians of New England* (London, 1660), containing dialogues between church elders and christianized Indians. C.f. also: Increase Mather, *A Brief Account of the War with the Indians in New England* (London, 1676) and Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702).

[5]C.f. H.J. Stammel. *Solange Gras wächst und Wasser fliesst*. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1976), p. 41.

[6]C.f.: *New York Times*,25.12.77 and other issues.

[7]C.f.: Howard Adams. *Prison of Grass* (Toronto: General Publishing, 1975), p. 152ff.: "The school systematically and meticulously conditions natives to a state of inferiorization and colonization. It does this in a number of ways: most important, however, is that it teaches the language, literature, and history of the colonizer and thus forces the students to deny their language, culture, and essential being. The school and its teachers operate with typical racial stereotypes and coerce students into feeling ashamed and unworthy."

[8]The abbreviation "DQU" is commonly in use, not only because the full name is a very long one, but more because it refers to two distinguished, quasi-deified Native American prophets and founders of nations, whose names should be used neither unnecessarily nor irreverently.

[9]This quotation, like many other informations and ideas, was taken from the *Handbook of Native American Studies and Chronology of Native American History*, prepared by the staff and students of NAS, Tecumseh Center, eds. Jack D. Forbes and Carolyn Johnson. (Davis: Tecumseh Center Publications, 1971), pp. 46-48.

[10]cf. above, fn. 4.

[11]Margaret Connell Szasz. *Education and the American Indian* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974, 1977), p. 9f.

[12]Luther Standing Bear. *Land of the Spotted Eagle*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1933, 1978), pp. 232-235.

[13]This became obvious in an interview with E. Benton Banai, director of the Red School House, Survival School, St. Paul, Minn., carried out in Germany, April 22, 1978 (interviewer: H. Lutz); unpublished typescript.

[14]C. Smith. *Indian Education*. Unpublished Masters' Thesis (University of Utah: Far West Center, 1973) , p. 9.

[15]William A. Brophy and Sophie D. Aberle (comps.). *The Indian: America's Unfinished Business*. Report of the Commission on the Rights, Liberties, and Responsibilities of the American Indian (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966, 1977), p. vii.

[16]Ibid, p. 156. C.f. also: Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. *Red Power: The American Indian's Fight for Freedom*. (New York et al.: McGraw-Hill, 1971), pp. 31-35.

[17]Brophy/Aberle, *op.cit.*, p. 153.

[18]Josephy, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

[19]Edgar S. Cahn and David W. Hearne (eds.). *Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America*. (New York: New American Library, 1969, 1970), p. 28.

[20] *"Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge."* 1969 Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, made by its Special Subcommittee on Indian Education (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969). Reprinted in (22) below.

[21] *Between Two Milestones:* The First Report to the President of the United States by the Special Education Subcommittee of the National Council on Indian Opportunity. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government, November 30, 1972, repr. in (22) below. This publication includes "Title IV", below.

[22] *First Annual Report to the Congress of the United States* from the National Advisory Council on Indian Education. 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March, 1974. (Includes (20), (21), the text of the Indian Education Act, and other documents.)

[23] Jack D. Forbes. "Selections from the Brief Proposal for Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University", in: Jack D. Forbes and Carolyn Johnson's *Handbook for the Development of Native American Studies* (Davis: Tecumseh Center, 1971), p. 46.

[24] Jack D. Forbes. *Native Americans of California and Nevada.* (Healdsburg, California: Naturegraph Publishers, 1969), pp. 52ff. C.f. also: Jack Norton. *Genocide in Northwestern California* (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1979), *passim.*

[25] Forbes, *Native Americans of California and Nevada.* p. 51, 59.

[26] For detailed information see: *A Study of Existing Physical and Social Conditions and the Economic Potential of Selected Indian Rancherias and Reservations in California,* ed. California Indian Assistance Program, State of California (Sacramento, June, 1976): and: *California Indian Assistance Program Field Directory,* ed. Dept. of Housing and Community Development, State of California (Sacramento, July, 1978).

[27] On the Struggle of the Pit River Nation see: *The Dispossessed.* (Film Script. On the Pit River Indians Struggle to Regain their Lands). Piedmont, California: George Ballis, 1970.

[28] John W. Moore with Alfredo Cuellar. *Mexican Americans.* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970), p. 11.

[29] Stan Steiner. *La Raza: The Mexican Americans.* (New York et. al.: Harper and Row, 1970), p. 208ff.

[30] Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 67ff.

[31] *Ibid,* p. 80.

[32] Black Berets, "BBO 12 Point Program and Platform," in: *La Causa Politica: A Chicano Politics Reader,* ed. F. Chris Garcia (Notre Dame and London: Notre Dame University Press, 1974), pp. 405-408, p. 406.

[33] Mario Barrera, Carlos Munoz, and Charles Onelas. 'The Barrio as an Internal Colony,' in: *La Causa Politica, loc. cit.,* pp. 281-301; p. 298.

[34] When talking about "international attention" I am referring primarily to the situation in West Germany and other Western European countries which were visited by Pan-Indian delegations after the Geneva Convention in 1977 and in the following years, drawing great attention to the situation of Native Americans today, particularly in the educational and social field. In April, 1978, Eddie Benton Banai, Director of the AIM Red School House, St. Paul, Minnesota, spoke to Austrian and German students and educators, and a month later a second, larger Indian delegation, including Indian educators like Clyde Bellecourt, Phillip Deere, and others, drew large audiences in Germany. Subsequently, at many West German universities and colleges of education, students submitted theses and term papers on educational alternatives, focusing on Indian Survival Schools (this coincides with a general revival of German enthusiasm for Indians, whose sources and implications I have dealt with in several other papers and publications). This year saw the publication of a second book by Claus Biegert, the most famous West German supporter of AIM, member and coordinator of the Indian Section of Survival International, film-maker, journalist and author, entitled *Indianerschulen - als indianer ueberleben - von indianern lernen - survival schools* (Indian Schools - to survive

as Indians - to learn from Indians - Survival Schools), including reports on survival schools, photos and documentations, information about AIM trials and campaigns, and interviews with people like Phillip Deere, Leonhard Crow Dog, Bill Wahpepah, Clyde Bellecourt, and others. However, the CIEA is never mentioned and DQU is only referred to in a footnote. In general, most information available (not only in Germany, it seems), focuses on *Akwesasne Notes*, The Six Nations, The Dakotas, some northern and central survival schools, a few leading AIM members, the Alaskan pipeline project, the St. James Bay and Canadian Northwestern Territories, as well as on the Navajos and Hopis. Relatively little is published about Oklahoma, Central Canada (Saskatchewan), Florida, or California. The publication of this anthology could help to close part of this information gap.

[35]Unless otherwise indicated, the following information about the CIEA is based on various official and unofficial statements and reports gleaned from CIEA members, on the files of the Forbes Special Collection at the Shields Library, UCD, on DQU and CIEA pamphlets and handouts, and on personal conversations with Jack D. Forbes, Sarah Hutchison, David Risling, and many others whom I wish to thank for their support.

[36]*California Indian Education.* Report of the First All-Indian Statewide Conference on California Indian Education - Northfork, ed. Jack D. Forbes. (Modesto, California: CIEA, Ind., 3rd printing s.a.).

[37]*California Indian Education. loc. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

[38]The same year, singer Buffy Sainte-Marie proposed the same in an open letter to Indian parents. C.f.: Buffy Sainte-Marie, "A Letter from Buffy Sainte-Marie," *Indians Illustrated*, vol. I, No. 8 (October, 1968), pp. 12-13.

[39]Ward Churchill and Robert S. Hill, Jr. "An Historical Survey of Tendencies in Indian Education: Higher Education." *The Indian Historian*, 12 (1979), 37-46; p. 44.

[40]W. Roger Buffalohead. "Native American Studies Programs: Review and Evaluation." *Indian Voices: The First Convocation of American Indian Scholars*, ed. Indian Historian Press (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1970) pp. 161-190, p. 176

[41]The NICE Program has developed several sets of materials to be used in teaching Indians and whites about Native Americans in schools, obtainable from: Northern Indian California Education Project Library. 526 A Street, Eureka, CA 95501

[42]*Indian Voices: The First Convocation..., loc. cit.*; *Indian Voices: The Native American Today.* A Report on the Second Convocation of Indian Scholars, ed. Indian Historian Press (San Francisco: Indian Historian Press, 1974).

[43]*First Convocation*, p. 171f.

[44]*Ibid*, p. 172.

[45]*Ibid*, p. 183.

[46]Generally, the same is true of all written history: it is presented from the point of view of the victors and conquerors, not as the history of the defeated victims, regardless whether the issue is seen from a racist, sexist, or capitalist point of view. In Western Europe, students are taught next to nothing about the history of women or the working-classes, let alone the history of Gauls or Basques, Celts or Same, Roma or Frisians, Jewish minority or Turkish immigrant laborers.

[47]For a more detailed account see: Jack D. Forbes, *Racism, Scholarship and Cultural Pluralism in Higher Education* (Davis, California, Tecumseh Center, 1977).

[48]For a discussion of these issues see: Jack D. Forbes, "Native American Studies and Ethnic Studies," *Handbook, loc. cit.*, p. 2-12.

[49]I gathered all this information - letters, reports, newspaper cuttings - from the Jack D. Forbes Collection, Special Collections Department, Shields Library, UC Davis, as well as from Forbes' own files, and from personal talks to the people involved.

[50]Jack D. Forbes, Kenneth R. Martin, David Risling, Jr., *The Establishment of D-Q University: An Example of Successful Indian-Chicano Community Development.* (Davis: D-Q University Press,

1972), pp. 3f.

[51]Although much has been said about the occupiers being homeless militants, drug abusers or alcoholics, it must also be acknowledged that without the help of these people, who held out there during the winter months often without adequate supplies, the battle for the site may never have been won. There were times, even when only one occupier held out there, and there were days without support from the Davis group. I have talked to persons of both sides about this issue, and I am unable retrospectively and as an outsider, to resolve the problem. Instead, I refer the readers to: Forbes et. al., *The Establishment of DQU*, pp. 5-9 and the interview with Roger Neadeau, - both included in this study, pp. 89-93 & 95-99.

[52]An Iroquois spokesman protested the use of the name, considering it "virtually sacrilegious to use the name of a deceased chief except during religious ceremonies or in a time of emergency." Peter Janssen, "DQU: Their Own Place in the Sun," *Change* (New York), 5: 1 (Feb. 1973) pp. 45-48; p. 47.

[53]Jack D. Forbes, "D-Q: Why an Indian-Chicano University?", 3 pp., unpublished manuscript, Forbes Collection, Special Collections Department, UCD Main Library, box XVIII.

[54]*D-Q University*, a four-page handout published and edited by D-Q University in 1978/79, p. 3.

[55]All courses mentioned here as examples were actually offered by D-QU in the Fall/ Winter semester of 1979/80.

[56]For most of the information given in this section I have relied on David Risling, Jr., who proved an excellent oral historian of DQU and Indian politics and education in general. Some Chicanos and other people I talked to were not willing to be named, and I found it unacceptable to include any oral information given anonymously. So, if this account may turn out "the history of the victorious", as usual, and not "the history of the defeated", there is nothing I can do about it. I think, however, this is the truth.

[57]Needless to say, that every change occurring within D-QU, every internal struggle or even "happening" normal in mainstream universities, was taken up by the press and reported, blown out of proportion and described negatively. This still continues today.

[58]*Hearings before the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities of the United States Senate*, 93rd Congress, 1st session: *Watergate and Related Activities*. Book 13. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), pp. 5289, 5321, 5396 *et passim*.

[59]Jack D. Forbes and Howard Adams, *A Model of 'Grass-Roots' Community Development: The D-Q University Native American Language Project* (Davis: Tecumseh Center Press, 1976), 41 pp.

[60]C.f. the interview with Cipriano Manuel, "That's What I'd Like D-QU To Become..." included in this study (pp. 101f). Cip's concern about the dying language as an indicator of de-Indianization and cultural genocide is shared by many Native Americans, language becoming a criterion for being Indian or non-Indian. I heard this opinion from several people asked, including Willard Rhoades (Pit River) and Darrell Standing Elk in the interview included in this study: "Being Indian Is A Spiritual Thing..." (pp. 105f.).

[61]I went to the Zuni Reservation on the same field trip after having talked to Cip Manuel at Papago. On March 14, 1980 I talked to the Director of the Zuni Board of Education, Dan Ukestine, and some of the staff members of the Zuni Curriculum Development Program (Box 339, Pueblo Zuni, N.M. 87327). I wish to thank all of the people I talked to for their friendly readiness to share information with me.

[62]C.f. interview with Darrell Standing Elk in this study pp. 105-113.

[63]I am referring to visits by Eddie Benton Banai (Red School House) and a Pan-Indian delegation touring Germany and other countries in April and May 1978 respectively.

[64]This situation is described and criticized in an open letter by Jack D. Forbes, "How to destroy D-QU in a few easy lessons", Jack Forbes Special Collection, Box XVIII, UCD Main Library.

[65]Monte Leach and Mary Tappel, "A Native Way of Knowing", *Politics and Education*, 2:1 (Fall 1979), pp. 38-40, p. 39.

DQU Accreditation Safe, For Now

By GREG WELSH

DQ University is temporarily out of danger of losing their accreditation as a valid, two-year college institution after a federal commission last week removed an order requiring the university to show why its accreditation should not be terminated.

That same accreditation commission, however, placed the Native American University on a one-year probation for financial reasons in a move which disappointed officials at the school, located six miles west of Davis.

DQU President Steve Baldy said yesterday in a telephone interview that he expected better news than he actually received last Wednesday.

"We were anticipating full accreditation with no probation," he said. "We got the minimum we were expecting."

The decision was made after a six-month review of DQU's status as a functioning two-year university. Reports that the university had falsified enrollment records and had misused some of the federal land on which the university sits initiated the investigation last year.

According to a press release issued by the executive director of the accreditation commission, Robert Swenson, DQU has made progress since last reviewed in January, but some problems still need to be ironed out.

Primarily, DQU must now prove that its financial status is stable and will remain stable in years to come, according to Swenson.

Swenson pointed to other concerns in his prepared statement Wednesday.

"These include rights to use the federal property, employment of a core of full-time faculty, establishment of an adequate library service and implementation of plans for the development of campus facilities."

Baldy disagreed yesterday with the contention that DQU cannot balance its budget. "We're as stable as we've been for a long time."

Baldy pointed to a $224,000 grant the university received last week from the Bureau of Indian Affairs for operating expenses during the past year, while placing the university in good position to be awarded $800,000 from the bureau for the 1980-81 fiscal year.

He also said full-time faculty, a library service, and the development of campus facilities will all be a part of DQU's fall program.

Baldy reiterated yesterday that he believes DQU has been victimized during the past year by federal agencies due to the fact that it is a Native American University and has had a turbulent past.

"In our case we feel we've been a little discriminated against," he said. "Other schools in similar situations haven't faced the suspicion we have."

The California Aggie, June 25, 1980

Davis Daily Democrat
Edition
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DQU given 'high marks'

By Robin Campbell

A three-person team investigating DQ University for the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs gave it high marks in all areas, one of the team members said Friday.

Roberta Wilson, director of the Tribal Administration Program in the Graduate School of Public Affairs at the University of Washington in Seattle, and an Ogiala Sioux, said Friday she found DQU "overall, a very inspirational place."

"I feel very strongly this institution has been the victim of harrassment, and I didn't feel that way before I came," she said.

She is one of three people on a team which works for the federal government on a contract basis to look into Indian-run community colleges.

Under federal legislation passed in 1978, the colleges could be eligible for grants ranging from $2,000 to $4,000 per full-time student, she said.

Qualifying for the funds, which are intended to provide a stable financial base for the colleges, "is not an automatic thing," Ms. Wilson said.

The evaluation is "a very formal and rigid process," she said, and the team was working with a 56-page, nine-section investigation form developed by the BIA and the president's Office of Management and Budget.

Other team members who with Ms. Wilson spent three days last week at the university are Dr. Jack Tirrell, whom she called "one of the most highly respected community college men in America," and Leland Pond, a dean at Dull Knife Community College on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana, and an Assiniboine Sioux.

"We went over every record the school could possibly dredge up," including papers on the other federal audits the school has had, Ms. Wilson said. The team also sat in on classes.

They looked into curriculum, faculty, fiscal management, student records and facilities, Ms. Wilson said, adding that after the investigation she was "really turned a around in my thinking."

"We came in with prejudicies, we'd heard things," she noted. "But this school comes closer to meeting the spirit of what was intended than any I've seen."

She called the criticism levelled at the school "a racist type of thing," and politically motivated.

"There isn't anything that radical going on," she said. "I don't believe enough people have actually been out there."

She blamed previous criticism of the institution, including a January report from the federal Office of Education which said "there is no education process going on," on the fact the school is not "mainstream."

Ms. Wilson said she was reminded during her investigation of the charges levelled at Reed College, a small private school in Oregon, during the 1950s, when it was involved in "encouraging free-thinking" and was accused of being Communist, she said.

The team's report from the team will go to the BIA, Ms. Wilson said. As yet, no one can say how much money the university could get, or whether it will be more than a one-time grant.

Ms. Wilson said the funding legislation, called the Tribally-Controlled Community Colleges Assistance Act, was passed to provide the stable funding Indian colleges have trouble getting from tuition or state tax funds.

There are 24 such colleges in the country, 16 currently operating, and eight in the planning stages, she said. DQU is the oldest not on a reservation, she noted.

Money under the act has been set aside, she said, but it may not be enough to provide ongoing support, and the program is up for financial re-evaluation by Congress in two years.

DQU has encountered its share of criticism from federal and state investigators.

The school, which has about 100 students, could lose its accreditation in June due to problems in lining up long-term funding, DQU officials have said.

And a report published in January initially in the Washington Star from an unnamed Office of Education official charged the school was "a facade behind which welfare is provided to Indians."

The report is blamed by DQU officials for causing a $100,000 federal Department of Health Education and Welfare grant to be held up, and they have discussed filing suit against HEW for the funds.

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PART TWO

VOICES FROM D-QU

The Daily Democrat
DAVIS EDITION
Serving all of Yolo county since 1857 Woodland, California Friday, February 19, 1971

D-QU wins battle to get former army site

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) — Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University is over the first hurdle in its bid to obtain a 640-acre former Army base as the site of a school tailored for Indians and Mexican-Americans.

"We've brought in a winner, our first in a hundred years," exulted Grace Thorpe, daughter of famed Indian athlete Jim Thorpe and information officer for DQU. "Custer's last stand was just a century ago."

Robert Cooper, regional director of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, said Thursday he was forwarding DQU's application for the square mile of surplus military property 70 miles northeast of here at Davis to Washington with a recommendation for approval.

Because the site cost the government more than $1 million, he said, the application must be approved by the Department of Justice before HEW can turn over title to DQU's acting board of trustees.

Dr. Jack Forbes, an acting DQU trustee who teaches Indian studies at the nearby University of California at Davis, said the intention is to provide a university designed specifically to meet the needs of young Indians and Mexican-Americans.

There will be remedial teaching to bring them up to date academically, then vocational training to help them get jobs, and later courses that will lead to conventional degrees.

Forbes, a Powhatan, said such courses as history, for instance, may turn out different from those in most colleges.

"I don't think an honest education is possible at a public university," he said.

DQU is named after the Indian who founded the Iroquois Federation and the god-hero of the Aztecs.

Around 50 Indians occupied the former Army communications base last Nov. 3 after DQU first had incorporated itself and applied for the property.

The occupation came after UC Davis also applied for the land to use for agricultural experiments.

Early this year UC Davis withdrew its application, and on Jan. 15 the Indians received the keys to the place, a forest of antenna poles with four usable buildings and two barracks in the middle.

"DQU shows we can do something for ourselves, entirely by ourselves," said Miss Thorpe.

Miss Thorpe is no stranger to Indian agitation. She gave up a real estate business in Phoenix last year to joint the Indians occupying Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, later moving on to Indian efforts to regain wilderness land in northeastern California.

She suggests those ventures might have turned out differently if, like DQU's well-organized sponsors, they had confronted the government with legal documents and concrete plans.

Many of the DQU backers are college students or graduates who are working up material to publicize DQU.

"We're hurting for money," she explains. "Last week I had to raise $600 for insurance and another $300 for an accreditation fee, and somehow we got it together.

"But we'll make it. This is the greatest thing that's happened to Indians and Chicanos since I don't know when."

Dr. Robes says, "We're holding a meeting at DQU on Feb. 21 to plan the future and elect a permanent board of trustees. We want it to be

See BACK PAGE

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Lois Risling*

"INDIAN PEOPLE NEED TO CONTROL THEIR OWN INSTITUTIONS"

*Lois Risling is of Yurok and Hoopa ancestry. A former student of Sacramento State and, at present, a Ph. D. candidate from Stanford University, she has taught both at Tecumseh Center and at D-QU, where she is still working part time as a voluntary staff member. This speech was delivered by her on April 26, 1980 at U.C. Davis for the Native American Culture Days, sponsored by the Native American Student Union. By the time her speech was given, many visitors had left, and there were next to no non-Indians present. However, on the adjoining field, there was a noisy sports event going on, drawing a very large crowd. This is what she is referring to at one point in her speech.

It's been a very interesting day for all of us, and I'm glad to see you all here. When I was asked to talk, I asked what kind of topic they wanted me to talk about, and they said that the people invited me to say something about education. I thought about that for a little while because I taught here at the University of California at Davis in the Native American Studies Department for a while and they hired me to do some education. At the time, that was what I thought I was doing. Until I got here and I realized it was not education that they wanted me to do, it was teaching. They were not interested in learning because as you can see, here we have a small group of people, and next to us we have a track meet, and then we have some other things going on, not many people are coming to listen to Native American Studies things or things about Indian people.

I went to school in the sixties and some of you remember the sixties. Some of you were participants, and some of you were watching television, which we all do. People were really excited and we used to have things like this, and there would be people all over the place, lined up to look at Indians, to be with Indians, to be around Indians. I think they thought that if they were around us long enough, it would rub off. But it did not rub off. It did not rub off to the point that we saw President Carter send a group of people, army people, into Iran. What for, I guess, to have us go into war? Nothing that they tried to have us learn at that time has come. So, now, we can look around at this and we see people sitting around - a few people interested but not everybody interested. There is going to come a time when people are going to start listening to Indian people again, and that is in the not-too-distant future.

Right now, Indian people are trying to do some education, not schooling, the thing that we do here. There's a popular song out on the radio now that is about education and schooling. Pink Floyd has it out. He wrote that song for his children, and in there he says, "Teacher, we don't want no education. Teacher, we don't want to learn anymore, don't teach me." He took his kids out of school because he didn't want them to be taught. He wanted his kids to learn. He wanted his kids to be creative.

About ten years ago, I was asked, "If I was a school teacher, what would I do?" And I said I would not teach. I would allow my kids to learn because Indian children are not taught, they learn. And one of the things I said then, and that I still say now is that when a person is trying to get an Indian child to learn, he takes that child and allows it to develop the knowledge inside of itself. Let that knowledge come out. Every child, every person has some natural ability. No one paid any attention then. They said that is not the way to learn. What you have to do with the child is to take a toy and give it to the child and you say, "Here, figure it out." Inquisitiveness, a child has to be inquisitive. The child has to develop his own needs and his own desires on his own. I just saw a study that was done and I saw on television, now, where they say, "Parents, don't give that toy to the child by himself, show him, show her, how to use the toy." Indian people have been doing that for hundreds of years, and, now, all of a sudden, that is the new method for learning, the new method for teaching. So slowly and surely they are beginning to learn from Indian people.

Plants, - Indian people used to go out to have ceremonies for their plants. Some of them still do. They laughed at us, they said you are stupid, plants cannot understand. Now, they tell you to play Beethoven, --ah, Beethoven is a little rough, play Bach, he's a little bit smoother, a little to soothe the nerves. Plants can tell whether you like them.

We have been doing it. They are learning from us, but they are stealing it from us. They are taking it. Indian people, they have taken our land, they have taken our learning, they have taken us. They have left us only one thing and that is our essence, and that is what they are trying to take from us now. They are trying to take our very being, how we do things. But once you take something you do not understand, you destroy it, and in that destruction, you destroy yourself.

We are now as Indian people trying to take control of our own lives and determine our own lives, and we're doing that by trying to develop our own institutions. One of those institutions is D-Q University. That is a university controlled now by Indian people, and in a constant state of struggle. One thing about Indian people is this: Indian people are born a problem to this society. We are born a problem. When we are born, this country does not know what to do with us. This government has only destruction in mind. Therefore, we are in a constant state of struggle. Non-Indian people, white people in this country, *become* a problem, they are not *born* a problem. They become a problem to us because they are in a constant state of conflict, not only with us, but with their own society. A friend of mine told me that you can see it in the way that they die. That when they die, their body, their essence, their state of being has no place to go because this is not their place. They are constantly looking for a place to settle, - their spirit is, - because they have no place here. It causes disruption and unhappiness, and disorients them to this society and this place.

We are trying to help that. We are trying to recreate and control our own destinies and societies by controlling our own institutions. One of those institutions is D-Q University. It is a step, it is a simple way. Support must be shown for that type of university. And there are others like that in the United States, - other institutions and other ways of developing things. If we do not do that, then in the very near future, we will not be sitting here. There will not be these large institutions like this because these institutions go back to being only for the wealthy and the powerful. And it will be an institution designed to make Americans Americans and only for Americans.

Money is getting tighter, food is getting tighter, jobs are getting scarce. One of the things my Grandfather taught me when I was young: he said, "There is going to come a time when there is going to be a sack of potatoes and a sack of gold, and people are going to kill each other for the potatoes, because the gold will not be worth anything." And that time is very near. Unless we do something about it, we will not even have the potatoes to fight over. Because one of the things that he taught me from the time that I was a child, and that I still believe today, is that if we do away with the water, that if we do away with the air, everybody will die because you cannot live without water and air. But you can live without gold, you can live without money, and you can live without houses and cars and furniture. It is those kinds of things that I think people forget, because now we are in a struggle for living and a struggle for survival.

When Indian people say education, that is what they mean. They mean the education of learning. We are not talking about schooling, that system that we see here today, that system that allows for this to happen, for me to stand here and talk to you and tell you, I am teaching you, you are not learning. Because you are not participating. Because there is an assumption in this kind of situation that I have all the knowledge and you have nothing. That is not a traditional way of learning. We never talked about teachers, we always talked

about learners, and we talked about guiders and that is our old people.

So one of the things that I think you should take back from a gathering like this is that Native American Studies Programs, that institutions like this, are just entities that must come to an end. Because Indian people need to control their own institutions.

In that control, they will be able to determine their own lives, and maybe, somehow be able to save this country from destruction and the war it is headed for. Thank you.

BACK THEN — These were the beginnings at Deganawidah-Quetzalcoati university west of Davis, which opens its doors for its first school session today. "Back then" was only last Thanksgiving, when the people shown in this picture participated in a fast to focus attention on their occupation of the former strategic army communications center at road 31. The occupation started in the early morning hours of last November 3 — Election Day — and did not terminate until shortly before the DQU board of trustees was given a temporary use permit January 14 for the 643 acres of land, 10 sprawling buildings and hundreds of telephone poles on the site.

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David Risling, Jr.:[1]

"MY CHALLENGE TO YOU, FOR YOUR CONSIDERATION IN THE 80'S"
(Speech given at the
11th ANNUAL NATIONAL INDIAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION CONVENTION
December 2-5, 1979, Denver, Colorado)

[1]David Risling, Jr., of Hupa, Karuk, and Yurok ancestry from the Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation, Northwestern California, was the founder of the CIEA and is the present chairman of the Board of Directors of D-Q University. He teaches Native American Studies at Tecumseh Center, University of California at Davis. (The speech was written down from a tape recording.)

My topic this morning is "My Challenge to You, for Your Consideration in the 1980's."

I would like to begin my remarks by reviewing the highlights of the 1968 special subcommittee on Indian Education Report to Congress. The report was called, "Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge." The report begins thus:

> The American vision of itself is of a nation of citizens determining their own destiny; of cultural difference flourishing in an atmosphere of mutual respect; of diverse people shaping their lives and the lives of their children. This subcommittee has undertaken an examination of a major failure in this policy: the education of Indian children. We have chosen a course of learning as obvious as it has been ignored. We have listened to the Indian people speak for themselves about the problems they confront, and about the changes that must be made in seeking effective education for their children...
>
> The extensive record of this subcommittee, seven volumes of hearings, five committee prints, and this report, constitute a major indictment of our failure...
>
> Drop-out rates are twice the national average in both public and Federal schools. Some school districts have drop-out rates appraoching 100 percent;
>
> Achievement levels of Indian children are 2 to 3 years below those of white students; and the Indian child falls progressively further behind the longer he stays in school;
>
> Only 1 percent of Indian children in elementary school have Indian teachers or principals;
>
> One-fourth of elementary and secondary school teachers - *by their own admission* - would prefer *not* to teach Indian children; and Indian children, more than any other minority group, believe themselves to be 'below average' in intelligence.
>
> What are the consequences of our education failure? What happens to an Indian child who is forced to abandon his own pride and future and confront a society in which he has been offered neither a place nor a hope? Our failure to provide an effective education for the American Indian has condemned him to a life of poverty and despair.
>
> Fifty thousand Indian families live in unsanitary, dilapidated dwellings, many in huts, shanties, even abandoned automobiles; The average Indian income is $1,500: 75 percent below the national average;
>
> The unemployment rate among Indians is nearly 40 percent - more than ten times the national average;
>
> The average age of death of the American Indian is 44 years, for all other Americans it is 65, the infant mortality rate is twice the national average.[2]

These cold statistics illuminate a national tragedy and a national disgrace. In terms of an opportunity for employment, education, a decent income, and the chance for a full and rewarding life, 'the first American' has become the 'last American'.

In addition to these statements the committee on Indian Education summarized their historical findings into four areas: policy failure (I), national attitudes (II), education failure (III), and causes of policy failure (IV).

I. The committee said the dominant policy of the Federal Government towards the American Indian has been one of "coercive assimilation." The policy has resulted in:

1. The destruction and disorganization of Indian communities and individuals.

2. A desperately severe and self-perpetuating cycle of poverty for most Indians.

3. The growth of a large, ineffective, and self-perpetuating bureaucracy which retards the elimination of Indian poverty.

4. A waste of Federal appropriations.

II. The committee felt the coercive assimilation policy has had a strong negative influence on *national attitudes*. It has resulted in:

1. A nation that is massively uninformed and misinformed about the American Indian, and his past and present.

2. Prejudice, racial intolerance, and discrimination towards Indians is far more widespread and serious than generally recognized.

III. The committee further said the coercive assimilation policy has had disastrous

effects on the education of Indian children. It has resulted in:

1. The classroom and the school becoming a kind of battleground where the Indian child attempts to protect his integrity and identity as an individual by defeating the purpose of the school.

2. Schools which fail to understand or adapt to, and in fact often denigrate, cultural differences.

3. Schools which blame their own failures on the Indian student and reinforce his defensiveness.

4. Schools which fail to recognize the importance and validity of the Indian community. The community and child retaliate by treating the school as an alien institution.

5. A dismal record of absenteeism, dropouts, negative self-image, low achievement, and ultimately, academic failure for many Indian children.

6. A perpetuation of the cycle of poverty which undermines the success of all other Federal programs.

IV. The causes of the policy failure were summarized by the committee when it said the coercive *assimilation policy* has two primary historical roots:

1. *A continuous desire to exploit, and expropriate, Indian land and physical resources.*

2. *A self-righteous intolerance of tribal communities and cultural differences.*

This report was used as a reference for many educational programs for Indians during the past decade. Much of the educational needs for Indian people summarized in this report still exist today. However, we have made several significant improvements to Indian education in the 1970's.

The enactment of the *Indian Education Act*, known as Title IV, has done much to get parents and Indian educators involved in the education process of our children as well as providing employment and an opportunity to meet and participate with other Indians at meetings and conferences such as the NIEA Conference; and *The Johnson-O'Malley Programs*, which are now involving Indian parents in the planning and operation, are providing much more meaningful programs to both the students and the Indian community.

The *Native American Studies Programs* in colleges have sprung up throughout the country and have made colleges more meaningful for many of our students. It also has provided employment for many of our Indian educators.

The *Bureau of Indian Affairs* has made several changes in its educational program during this past decade which is making its programs more meaningful to the students and it is now in the process of evaluation and reorganizing its total education program, as was just explained by Mr. Barlow[3] and will be discussed further at workshops throughout the conference.

There are more Indian people *involved in education* than ever before and a good number are involved at the state and national levels as well. We even have an Indian running for the President of the U.S., Jerry Running Foxe (Coquille from Oregon). More of our people are getting concerned with the idea of *becoming more self-sufficient* and are beginning to exercise some independence. Many tribes are now contracting their own service from the Federal Government including the operations of their schools.

Several tribes have made commitments towards developing their own colleges. Some already have *tribally controlled colleges* on their reservations.

Several Indian communities have even developed their own Survival Schools.

Several national and regional organizations have formed to protect and to protect and to develop their *natural and physical resources*. While all of these things I have listed are things we can be proud of, we still have not made much progress in getting our people to be a Nation of people determining our own destiny or people living in communities where cultural differences flourish in an atmosphere of mutual respect, or people shaping the lives of our children to live happily as Indians in a non-Indian society.

We have a long way to go to *rid ourselves of the institutions* which continue to suppress or control us in one way or another, and it will be some time before we will be able to have the independence needed to prevent the destruction of our tribal communities. No recognized Indian tribe in this country has any real sovereignity or independence, all are dependent on the Federal Government for their survival.

We still have a long way to go in getting the schools to teach the necessary skills required by Indian people to function at the reservation level, i.e. my reservation[4] where no history of the tribe, no language, no tribal government classes are taught in the schools. Neither are there adult classes taught to the people to help them to operate their tribal government or to manage their everyday affairs.

There is still the *continuous desire of non-Indians to exploit and expropriate our lands* and our physical resources. This is still the *self-righteous intolerance*, by non-Indians, to cultural differences and tribal communities.

All of this leads me to believe that if we are ever going to bring significant changes to the lives of our Indian people we must do what the Blacks and Jewish people did, that is, develop our own institutions.

History has shown that every nation or race of people needs its own university, its own center for intellectual and artistic development, its own center for assisting in the self-realization of its entire people.

In the past, many of our Indian people have gone through the process of receiving a white planned education. Yet very few, previous to the past two decades, have returned to help their people. Most had become assimilated into the work force of the "white" institutions and many have been hired to assimilate more of our people into the mainstream of the "white world." Very few, if any, of these educated, assimilated Indians reached the top positions in the non-Indian world. The assimilation of Indians into the white world, as many of you know, has been found to be a complete failure. As I said before, what is needed by our people are educational institutions owned and operated by Indian people. The goals of such institutions would be to develop Indian heritage, with the professional and technical skills necessary to meet the needs of the communities. It is envisioned that these scholars will teach the traditional values to those who need increased positive self-identity and confidence while at the same time teaching them technical skills and occupations which will allow them to change both the service and delivery systems which affect the lives of people.

One of the basic values such an institution would emphasize is the sense of community which includes the family, extended family, local and world communities of human beings. In many ways this is very different than the individualistic, competitive and materialistic emphasis of the European-American educational system. Another value which it would emphasize is the relationship of humans to their total environment and their need to live in harmony with all parts of the ecology.

To conclude my remarks this morning I would like to leave these challenges for you to consider for the 1980's.

1. Develop educational institutions owned and operated by Indian people.
2. Develop programs that will lead toward independence and away from dependency.
3. Develop programs which strengthen our Indianness.
4. Develop Indian owned and operated institutions in addition to Indian owned and operated educational institutions to replace those non-Indain institutions which presently control our social, economic, and financial development.
5. Provide more support to institutions which are now owned and operated by Indian people (i.e. Do not help non-Indian institutions to compete with Indian owned and operated institutions.)
6. Develop methods to help Indian owned institutions protect themselves against those institutions which suppress or even destroy Indian institutions.
7. Collect for Indian institutions, anthropological information on non-Indians and non-Indian institutions and systems.
8. Require all teachers of Indian children to be trained by Indian people who are experts in their Indian culture.
9. Provide experts in Indian culture to help plan and teach Indian culture to our children.
10. Provide forums and convocations where Indian educators, elders, and parents can discuss education goals and plans for our children.
11. Discover new ways to educate the non-Indians so that they can become better informed about our people.

While these challenges do not meet all of the needs for Indian education, if carried out they will do much to allow us to live in harmony in this non-Indian society as Indian people.

While none of my remarks are new, they do represent many ideas put forth by Indians from throughout the nation, who have deep concern about the education of our people.

To close my remarks I would like to quote from a statement made by John Collier in referring to the American Indian.

> They had what the world has lost. They have it now. What the world has lost, the world must have again, lest it die.[5]

Thank you very much.

FOOTNOTES

[2] *Indian Education: A National Tragedy - A National Challenge: 1969 Report* of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate, Made by the *Special Subcommittee on Indian Education* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979), p. IXf. ("Foreword").

[3] Director of Indian Education in the BIA

[4] Hoopa Valley, California

[5] John Collier, *Indians of the Americas*.(New York: W.W. Morton, 1947), p. 15.

- A N N O U N C E M E N T -

CALIFORNIA INDIAN EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

THE CIEA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HAS ELECTED TO HOLD THE 13th ANNUAL STATEWIDE CONFERENCE ON NOVEMBER 23,24,25,1979 AT THE CAMPUS OF D-Q UNIVERSITY, DAVIS, CALIFORNIA.

THEME: "INDIAN CONTROLLED SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES"

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CIEA Invitation to Annual Conference at D-QU

Jack D. Forbes[1]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NATIVE AMERICAN INTELLIGENTSIA AND THE CREATION OF D-Q UNIVERSITY

[1]Jack D. Forbes (Powhatan/Delaware), teaches NAS at Tecumseh Center, UCD. Co-founder of DQU and initiator of many other Indian projects, he still teaches at DQU. For a list of his publications see appendix to this study.
Footnotes by the editor.

The Significance of a Native American Intelligentsia

An "intelligentsia" is that sector of a population which utilizes the powers of the mind and creativity for purposes of problem-solving, advanced creative work, the advancement of wisdom, long-range planning, and so on.

Traditional Native American societies formerly possessed intelligentsias which were thoroughly integrated into the general population. Native leaders were usually also "thinkers" and creators of beauty. These leaders, whether "secular" or "ceremonial" or "healing" (or all three) were ordinarily at one with the masses (the general population) and consistently served the interests of the community.

The invasion and conquest of the Americas by Europeans usually resulted in the wholesale slaughter of the Native intelligentsia (as in California) or in their destruction by the various techniques of colonialism. In the latter case, for example, the colonial powers consciously sought to discredit the intelligentsia, deprive it of the ability to help educate the young, and attempted to create a new christianized, europeanized group to take its place.

All effective resistance movements must have an intelligentsia. Without people devoted to rational planning, the development of appropriate ideology, or the education of others, a mass movement will inevitably suffer reversals and even complete defeat.

Every revolution or struggle must have a "plan" and that plan must include both short-range and long-range objectives. It must also be grounded in a very careful analysis of objective conditions. This is the kind of work which an intelligentsia can do.

A *resistance movement which lacks an intelligentsia* (or which lacks information for careful decision-making and long-range planning) *will usually degenerate into a mere rebellion or uprising.* Uprisings are ordinarily put down by the colonial power, as is evidenced by the thousands of Native American insurrections ("risings") crushed by the Spaniards, Portuguese, French, British, and Anglo-Americans. The numerous slave insurrections carried out by African and Red-Black slaves also are examples of the same type, as are the ghetto "riots" of the 1960's.

Let me give a very specific example of what happens when accurate information and a pan-Indian intelligentsia are lacking. In 1670-1715 the powerful confederacies of the Southeast (The Choctaws, Chickasaws, Muskogees, Cherokees, Catawbas, and Tuscaroras) *allowed* the British, Spanish, and French to manipulate them so that a European victory was ensured. The various confederacies and native republics allowed themselves to be used as cannon-fodder for European imperialism, wiping each other out, selling each other as slaves to South Carolina, and serving as mercenaries in various European armies. Finally, in 1715, a pan-tribal rebellion took place - but it was too late. The English were already too strong and such tribes as the Cherokees and Catawbas held back. Others, such as the Choctaws, had little reason to join the rebels since literally thousands of their people had been carried off *by other Indians* to be sold as slaves in South Carolina, the West Indies, and New England.

The 1715 revolt collapsed and the fate of the South was sealed.

Of course, historic tribal rivalries and narrow localism had a lot to do with the European victory. But the key factor, in my opinion, was the absence of any means of gathering and *analyzing* essential data relative to English, Spanish, and French strengths, intentions, methods, and weaknesses.

Perhaps this could not be helped, since it could be argued that few Indians were in a position in 1715 to listen in on English conversations or meetings in Charleston or London. On the other hand, the whites were badly outnumbered even along the coast by a large slave

population, at least one-fifth of whom were Indians.

In any case, Indians of today must seriously ask whether we are in any better position, insofar as gathering and *analyzing* data is concerned. Are we prepared to deal, intellectually, with the massive power of the structure oppressing us? Do we simply react and rebel, or do we plan?

Colonialism and the Native Intelligentsia

In any case, colonial powers learned many centuries ago that the best way to prevent successful rebellions is to destroy, buy-off, or emasculate the native intelligentsia. *Rebels without plans or without accurate information will often defeat themselves,* thus making the conqueror's work that much easier.

A few years ago I wrote that:

> *The overall process of colonial exploitation requires that the conquered population be rendered instantly impotent and that the possibility of rebellion be eliminated or at least diminished.* This means that Native religions, social units (such as men's societies) having the potential of serving as centers for insurrection, and traditional political structures be eliminated or completely subverted...
>
> *The most common practice in establishing a long-term colony is to literally liquidate the Native population as a self-conscious nationality and to convert the surviving individuals into unorganized masses...*This process is facilitated by the destruction of Native institutions...and by the suppression of the Native language...Whenever possible colonial systems seek also to destroy Native nationalism by promoting loyalty to new institutions which support colonialism, such as a church or a government run by the ruling classes.[2]

In the United States the traditional Native intelligentsia was often effectively cut off from the young people who were taken away to BIA or mission schools. Likewise, christian missionaries attempted to split the communities ideologically.

The immediate effect of this process was to (usually) isolate and render powerless the "elders," while positions of authority were given to compliant christianized persons whose only task was to obey the whiteman. The nationalist intelligentsia was often wiped out by force, as with the murder of Chitto Harjo in the Muskogee Nation, or driven into intellectual isolation as were Dr. Carlos Montezuma[3] and Dr. Charles Eastman[4] (both being driven away from BIA reservation employment).

By the early 1900's a new Indian intelligentsia was arising, largely from the ranks of BIA and mission school graduates. But with a few exceptions, such as Montezuma and Eastman, this new intelligentsia was effectively colonialized and christianized. This group organized the Society of American Indians, an organization hostile towards "grass-roots" Indians in many significant respects.

In a "mature" (long-established) colonial situation the native intelligentsia, effectively "brainwashed" as they are, becomes cut off from the masses both economically and culturally. *The native community is deprived of their brain-power and creative abilities.* Not only that, but their skills are often used to harm the long-term interests of their own people.

The brainwashed colonial intelligentsia have "given up." They have accepted conquest. They accept the rules laid down by the conqueror. Nationalism, resistance, liberation, and struggle are concepts which are frightening to them, because these concepts threaten the comfortable "bargain" they have made with the system of oppression.

From the early 1900's until virtually the present day the vast majority of "educated" Indians have gone to work for the BIA, other federal agencies, or white-controlled museums

and schools. Their incomes have been dependent upon continued employment in agencies dominated by the invaders. Their thinking, their outlook on life, their culture, and so on, have all been affected or even molded by this dependence.

The Society of American Indians proved in the long run to be a very disappointing organization. It failed because it was totally cut off from the so-called "ignorant" and "backward" Indian masses. Its leaders appear to have held the masses in contempt.

This entire process, whereby a native intelligentsia is co-opted by a colonial system, is very well explained in the works of Franz Fanon[5] and Albert Memmi[6] and it isn't necessary to review it here. Nonetheless, we need to stress that just as many African and West Indian intellectuals tried to become Frenchmen, so too, many Native American "educated" persons tried to become whitemen or at least "Americans of Indian descent" rather than "Indians."

It is true, of course, that an intelligentsia survived within the Indian community, consisting in elders and some younger people who had rejected white values. (Carlos Montezuma, for example, returned to his Yavapai people and worked at the grassroots level.) But this native intelligentsia declined from the 1920's onward as older people died and reservation colonialism gained ever greater control over Indian life. Still further the grassroots intelligentsia has been, and is still, often severely handicapped by poverty, isolation, and a lack of essential (vital) information for decision-making. *In spite of the changes of the 1960's and 1970's most Indians at the grassroots level still operate in an information vacuum.* It is easy for misinformation, rumor, half-truth, and propaganda to flow into this vacuum and seriously handicap liberation efforts.

In any event, the Native American World, by the 1960's, had *two* intelligentsias, largely at odds with each other. One consisted in the white-oriented, economically prosperous, BIA, christian Indians who dominated virtually every position of authority. Even when well-intentioned this group comprised a "classical" colonialized intelligentsia, thoroughly enmeshed in the colonial system.

The second consisted in grassroots elders and religious leaders, many of whom could not speak English or, at least, could not read or write it effectively, supplemented by a few "educated" persons who had been able to break the intellectual bonds of oppression and a larger number of poorly trained but patriotic Indian individuals anxious to work with their communities.

It must be stressed that the differences between these two groups were significant indeed. One cannot "paper over" the difference between being a servant of colonialism, however "beneficient," and being an avowed nationalist, The two perspectives are always at war with each other.

The Creation of D-Q University

It was within this context that the concept of an Indian-controlled university was conceived by this writer and others in 1961-1962.[7] From the very beginning the university (called at first "The Indo-American University," then "The Native American University," and finally, in 1970-1971, D-Q University) was conceived as an integral part of a national liberation struggle for the Indian race.

Needless to state this is also a key reason why DQU has been vigorously opposed by white agencies and by the colonialized Indian intelligentsia. *DQU is the only Native college openly dedicated to pan-Indian liberation.*

What does this mean? From 1970-71 onward the university described itself as pan-Indian, that is, as embracing (in theory) the *entire* Native race from Alaska and Greenland to the very tip of South America. This concept must have upset those people who wanted Native people to think of themselves as "United States Indians" whose very identity is dependent upon the BIA colonial system.

For years Native Americans have been told to forget their Canadian, Mexican, Peruvian, Guatemalan, Bolivian, and Paraguayan Native brothers and sisters! Not only that, but they have been told to forget about eastern Indians ("State" Indians), "terminated" Indians, and landless (unrecognized) Indians. They have been told to forget about Indians who are part-Black, and Indians who speak Spanish. They have been taught to accept white-looking persons of fractional Indian blood who speak only English (so long as they are good BIA recognized people) while at the same time to reject full-blood Mexican Indians who can speak an Indian tongue!

And, of course, white racism has programmed most Indians to accept white mixture and to reject Black mixture even though traditional African tribal cultures are closer to our own heritages than are most European cultures.

All of this, of course, has been a clever colonial strategy designed to split the Native race into as many factions as possible and to persuade us to accept as permanent the armed conquest of the Native nations.

DQU, by embracing pan-Indianism and by ignoring so-called international boundaries, broke the ground-rules laid down by U.S. colonialism.

Of course, DQU *had* to break those ground-rules. *A patriotic native intelligentsia cannot be developed at all unless someone breaks the rules set by the oppressors.* Colonialists fear and despise native patriotism and their rules are designed to destroy the self-identity of the conquered people.

In any case, the originators of the DQU concept were extremely aware of the need to do two things: (1) *to empower and strengthen the traditionalist intelligentsia already existing at the grassroots level,* and (2) *to train younger people in such a way so that they would be able to return to their communities and lead the intellectual and creative struggle for liberation,* always in conjunction with the traditional elders.

Naturally, this philosophy, so necessary for a national reawakening, can be expected to arouse the wrath of Indians who are elitists and "assimilationists" or of those who continue to be loyal to the colonial system. Still further, it can be expected to antagonize the white churches, the white government agencies, and the white foundations controlled by corporate executives.

In short, the idea of creating a university dedicated to a national reawakening within territory controlled by powerful groups *opposed* to such a reawakening is, to say the very least, a radical concept and one sure to arouse continued and obstinate opposition.

Such has, indeed, been the case.

Before proceeding it is necessary, however, to note that not all Indians have seen the wisdom of establishing such a university. In fact, most Indians in leadership positions do not even see the need for an *independent* Native intelligentsia.

Since the late 1960's the vast majority of Indians, guided perhaps by the funding policies of white government agencies and foundations, have concentrated upon the development of a series of "tribally-controlled" junior colleges or "Native American Studies" programs in white

universities. Admirable as these developments may be (when compared with earlier conditions) they do not in themselves guarantee the creation of an intellectually liberated Native intelligentsia.

Junior (two-year) colleges are ordinarily concerned primarily with "vocational" and remedial training, especially in many rural parts of the country. Most Indian junior colleges have courses in Native Studies of some sort or in the social sciences or humanities but, of necessity, these classes have to be operated at a very elementary level. In junior colleges teachers usually have a heavy class load, do not do research, and, in general, do not have any opportunity to write or otherwise sharpen their own intellectual insights. Rural colleges, especially, will tend to attract instructors either desperately seeking any kind of a teaching job (however temporary) or ones who are interested primarily in such rural amenities as hunting and fishing. Any "higher" intellectual interests will tend, in any case, to become blunted over the years by isolation, poor libraries, and hostile administrators.

In any case, the first two years of college will not normally be the place to develop an Indian intelligentsia *unless* traditional elders are given a free hand at building the curriculum. Other pressures (for "transfer" credits, vocational skills, etc.) will usually minimize such developments.

Native Studies programs in white universities are few and far between and they are limited, with few exceptions, to only a few western states. In most (or all) instances they are limited in size and must meet criteria set by the ruling white administrators and faculty. In many cases such programs are being forced to admit large percentages of non-Indian students in order to "stay alive" and are changing the internal content of courses to respond to the majority audience.

Indian faculty teaching in white colleges are also forced to write what their white peers consider to be acceptable scholarly or creative works, in order to obtain tenure or promotion. This means that purely Indian works intended for Indian audiences will not be produced, will have to be seriously altered, or will have to be produced "on the side."

Most white universities, still further, will never develop a "critical mass" of Indian faculty. There will usually be one artist, one historian, one political scientist, and so on, so that even if a program has four to six faculty they will always be in different fields. Many colleges, of course, will hire only one or two Indians who will, in turn, be isolated in separate departments.

In many respects, the development of a multitude of separate, isolated two-year Indian colleges is a *disservice* to the Indian people. Only one or two such colleges can ever develop the size necessary to hire outstanding faculty or to develop a complex program. The tribally-controlled junior colleges can, however, be viewed as an asset if we think of them as meeting strictly vocational-remedial-preparatory needs and if we do not fall under the illusion that they are meeting *all* of the higher education needs of Indian people.

D-Q University was designed as a four-year school with a graduate program, that is, as a university, *precisely* because of the above considerations. It was designed to bring together a diverse mix of Native students and scholars in order to facilitate the full-scale evolution of a modern Indian intelligentsia *independent* of white control.

Unfortunately certain concrete conditions have forced DQU to largely concentrate on junion college-level offerings and to neglect formal upper-division or graduate training. What are these conditions?

First, the federal government has forced DQU to become "accredited" which means securing at least minimal acceptance by a white-controlled accreditation association. Because of financial constraints DQU had to seek junior cotlege accreditation. This, in turn, led to the abandonment of any higher-level work (at the insistence of the junior college accreditation people).

Secondly, the large white foundations have proven to be singularly hostile to the creation of an independent Indian-controlled university. They have withheld funding and thereby have forced DQU to seek federal funds primarily.

Thirdly, the large white religious denominations have refused to fund DQU for reasons which probably need little explanation. Clearly the "liberalism" of some of the major denominations does *not* extend so far as to support an independent, non-Christian, educational institution. (Many, of course, support their own Christian colleges for Indians or Blacks.)

Fourthly, the federal government since Nixon's 1972 electoral victory has turned away from the support of grassroots-controlled programs of all kinds. DQU has, in addition, suffered as a specific target of anti-"militant" policies directed at the American Indian Movement. It seems very likely that DQU has been "black-balled" by most federal agencies.

Fifthly, most powerful Indians are themselves linked to the colonial system and are very much afraid of DQU. It is clear that some of them have used their positions to block grants to the university.

Nonetheless, DQU has had considerable success at stimulating the growth of an Indian intelligentsia but primarily by means of conferences, workshops, meetings, and publications. Since 1972 numerous events at DQU have brought together large numbers of Indians and Chicanos to discuss significant topics and especially noteworthy has been the bringing together of traditional elders, college professors, community people, and public school teachers. Truly "advanced" and deep dialogues have occurred in such settings and that may yet prove to be DQU's greatest contribution.

Obstacles Faced by a Native Intelligentsia

For the moment, however, I want to turn away from a specific discussion of DQU in order to probe more deeply into the problems faced by the Native intelligentsia in general.

We must begin by noting that the white intelligentsia in the U.S. is extremely large and powerful, relative to the very small Native intelligentsia. Whether liberal, radical, or conservative the white intellectuals ordinarily insist that non-white intellectuals (especially writers) enter into a continuous dialogue with them. They do not tolerate or comprehend an intelligentsia independent of their continuous embrace.

This pressure placed upon the Native world arises both from the use of English (or Spanish) by the Indian intelligentsia (which exposes them constantly to white "inspection" without, however, forcing the whites to master a Native language) and, secondly, by the fact that the whites control virtually all of the means for self-expression (magazines, reviews, recording studios, galleries, publishing houses) as well as controlling promotions in a college setting, research grants, fellowships, research libraries, and advanced study centers.

Native intellectuals and artists, to be even moderately successful, must go through a "rite of passage" completely controlled by aliens. One simply will not be appointed to a key board controlling a Native American research collection, for example, or secure a grant for advanced study unless one has produced works "acceptable" to the white world. Moreover, the very essence of such "acceptable" works is that they are in dialogue with the white intelligentsia

rather than with other Indians (and especially not with the Native masses).

This continuous pressure, whether consciously applied or not, serves to prevent the full development of an independent, authentic Native intelligentsia. It effectively "assimilates" the Native intellectual into the white world, or, if he resists, it will often bar him from all recognition and guarantee a life of poverty and struggle. (The latter is not bad in itself but it does severely interfere with productivity and the dissemination of knowledge.)

White colonialism, in short, forces the authentic Indian intellectual or artist to identify with the Native masses because, once his eyes are open, he can see that he is just another "red dog" insofar as the ruling classes are concerned. Moreover, he is a "mad red dog" and his authentic artistic or analytical statements may cause him to be seen as a "frothing at the mouth, rabid red dog" whose works are "shocking" or "biased" and "repulsive." (Can one write or paint the truth and please the white power structure? Probably not for long!)

The Native intellectual or artist also discovers that he is outnumbered by white "experts" on Indian subjects. Many of these experts have lucrative full-time positions where their major (or only) responsibility is to write about Indians or comment on Indian art, etc. Others teach courses, run galleries or museums, and otherwise dominate a job market that could (in theory) be open to Indians.

I don't mean to imply that all whites who write about Indians are doing a disservice. Some have produced excellent works and these authors are usually typified by a degree of modesty which prevents them from posing as experts on all phases of Native life and politics. Others, however, are anti-Indian authors or are simply "mining" the archives for data to be used for career advancement. Still others have tried to write popular articles or reports relating to contemporary Native Affairs in spite of having no expertise. But they are the kind of people the *New York Times* or other white publications tend to turn to for insight into the "strange" world of the modern aborigine. (One good thing about this state of affairs is that the shoddy research methods and concealed biases of, say, a scholar specializing in the nineteenth-century, may be revealed for all to see in such an article.)

The fact that the Native intelligentsia must exist, as it were, in the shadow of a dominant white group specializing in Native affairs is not unique. It is a typical by-product of colonialism, experienced even more completely by Indians in Latin America. It is a situation similar to that faced by Blacks in the U.S., Africans in the former French and British empires, etc.

Directly parallel also is the manner in which white "social scientists" took over the administration of Indian affairs from the 1920's-1930's onward and made the area of Native Administration "an experiment in guided culture change" (according to advocate Oliver La Farge[8]).

Another problem faced by the Native intelligentsia arises from the non-Indian forces. From one direction come the Mormons with their notions of an ancient Hebrew migration to the Americas (coupled with the idea that brownness of color is a curse for wickedness). From another comes the pseudo-scholarly cultists who seek to assign Native accomplishments to Egyptians, Phoenicians, visitors from outer space, migrants from Atlantis, or travelers from Asia. Then there are those now seeking to prove that white Europeans built megaliths in New England or that Black Africans developed the Olmec civilization in Mexico.

And all of this is in addition to the myriads of anthropologists still pushing the Bering Strait theory or some new anti-Indian thesis (such as that the Aztecs were cannibals in order to supply a major part of their protein needs).

It would take a full crew of Native writers just to keep up with the continuous attacks being made by white racist writers, let alone meet all of the similar assaults of local newspaper editors, columnists, school boards, teachers, etc.

We must face up to the reality that the white invaders of the Americas not only want to wipe out the Native nations as political realities. They also want to, if at all possible, explain away every Indian contribution so as to either establish their own "nativeness" or to provide a sort of justification for genocide against the Native race. (Of course, I should stress that most professional archaeologists and anthropologists help us in our struggle with the pseudo-scholarly white attackers even though a few of them occasionally do us a disservice.)

The colonialism faced by the Native intellectual is one and the same with the colonialism faced by the poorest, most oppressed sector of the Native masses. The only difference is that the Native writer, artist, or performer can, if he chooses, accept colonialism and recast his work so that he can make a living by producing what the system will reward. The poorest of the oppressed cannot, of course, achieve such "success" (even if they manage to join the army or become a reservation cop).

What is it that the system wants? The system wants studies *about* Indians which reveal "secrets" of Native life in a manner which cannot be at all useful to 99 percent of Native readers. Or the system wants novels about helpless alcoholic Indians who haven't a political notion in their head. Or the system wants songs about sex and romance, not protest songs. Or the system wants paintings of splendid Indian chiefs in war-bonnets rather than portrayals (for example) of a Papago child dying of malnutrition in a cotton-picking camp.

The system also wants us to write histories of Indian tribes using methodologies defined by white disciplines and using concepts forced upon us by alien methods of classification. The tragedy is that such "histories" are often not worth the paper they are written on since the end result is a falsification of reality. (Slowly but surely, of course, white systems of classification and disciplinary methods are creating a new "reality" among Indians as the younger generations are indoctrinated with the way white people define and describe and demarcate Native societies.)

It is difficult indeed to see how all of this can change so long as the members of the Native intelligentsia with higher degrees are isolated in white-controlled departments in white universities, or are teaching in vocational junior colleges to students in need of remedial education, or are forced to struggle to keep Native Studies programs alive in hostile environments.

Isn't it clear that we need to support an Indian-controlled university?

The sad truth is, of course, that Indians of all kinds have been "trained" to believe in the superiority of white-controlled institutions. I am told, for example, that most of the "best" Navajo high school graduates do not want to go to Navajo Community College. They, instead, seek to go to white colleges (even though many of their choices are of dubious intellectual quality). Other Indians would rather go to Haskell Indian Junior College (which is under BIA control) for the same reason and also perhaps because Haskell has a full-range of athletic teams, cheerleaders, marching bands, etc.

We must, in all honesty, recognize that our Native youth are at least as affected by the propaganda of colonialism (television for example) as are our political leaders, tribal chairpersons, and the intelligentsia.

Maybe the Indian people are finished as a viable nationality.

But perhaps also we have made a tragic mistake in supporting sometimes remedial and uninspiring junior college programs which, in truth, might not effectively challenge the better Indian high school graduate. Maybe we have put the cart before the horse. It *is* important that our youth learn to read and write English but isn't it also important to give them things to read which are free from the taint of colonialism? Who is going to do that? When? Are we only preparing our youth for more effective indoctrination by, and assimiliation into, the dominant society?

At this point it would be wise to review what an intelligentsia is like. Such individuals as Hank Adams, Richard La Course, Phillip Deer, Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, Vine Deloria Jr., Oren Lyons, Mad Bear Anderson, Dave Risling Sr. and Jr., Simon Ortiz, Peter MacDonald, and Carl Gorman can be easily identified as members of the Native intelligentsia (of course, many others could be mentioned as well). What distinguishes these people? Some are writers, some are artists or poets, some are traditional thinkers, some are college-trained, and some are "grass-roots." What do they have in common? They all use their minds and creative skills to think, to pioneer, to plan, to propose, to explore, to create new visions - and they do these things in a manner which is, to some degree or another, independent of the white system.

The Native People have thousands of school teachers, artists, administrators, and other "trained" persons who are *not* part of the intelligentsia (although many *could* become part of it). Why? Because most of these "trained" people do not ask questions, do not innovate, do not rebel, do not rock boats, do not provide any new visions - in short, *they have been trained by BIA or other white schools to allow the white society to do their thinking or creating for them.*

No degree of technical competence or skill can make one an intellectual or a creative artist. No artist who simply reproduces trite formulas developed in "Indian art" schools can help us very much. No teacher who simply parrots what administrators tell him to say can help children to learn to think critically.

The mind cannot function effectively if it is imprisoned. An intelligentsia cannot exist if the minds of the people are programmed to accept whatever colonialism decrees.

No true intelligentsia is allowed to exist in the Soviet Union (publicly at least) because social and political criticism or artistic innovation are subject to anti-intellectual police-state control.

Similarly, most modern Indian intellectuals and creative artists are people who have never been under the control of the BIA or who have managed, somehow, to live apart from the BIA and other white agencies controlling Indians. Among reservation Indians, for example, the intelligentsia exists mostly among grass-roots traditionals who have chosen not to participate in high-paying BIA-government jobs (or who have been barred by poverty or language barriers).

An Indian artist or writer or speaker, to be authentic, must be able to make a living completely outside of the normal white-controlled agency or tribal "government" spheres. This is extremely difficult indeed, and for this reason the Native intelligentsia is often both small and uninfluential. What are some of the problems?

First, a Native writer has great difficulty obtaining publication for any novel, poem, play, non-fiction work, or article - and this is especially true if the work looks at things from an *internal* Indian perspective or seriously challenges white society. Things which are "quaint" or which present stereotypical confused, alcoholic, or "silent and stoical" Redmen are acceptable, as are good novels which lack any Indian "political" content, but even these kinds of works have to compete with well-financed white authors and their books (such as

Hanta Yo[9]) which are promoted by the publisher while Indian books have to make it on their own.

Native writers are limited to a very few outlets and most of these have almost no impact on the Indian world, let alone reaching non-Indians. Even a "successful" book such as Deloria's *Custer Died for Your Sins*[10] has probably been read by only a tiny number of Indians (outside of Native American Studies classes where the book used to be widely read).

The truth is that 95 percent of Indian people (I would venture to guess) have never actually read *any* book written by an Indian. It might be 99 percent with 1 percent (about 10,000 Indians) being the largest number ever to have read a serious Indian-authored book.

Perhaps as many as 5 percent have read a serious article (not a basketball game story), but that would be 50,000 people which is perhaps on the very high side.

Normally, I would guess that our greatest poems, novels, and books reach only 1,000 actual readers (among Indians). My Chicano book, *Aztecas del Norte*, [11] sold 21,000 copies between 1973 and 1977 which means that I had perhpas 50,000 readers for the book (out of a potential Chicano audience in the 5,000,000 range). And that book was an attractive Fawcett paperback selling for only ninety-five cents!

As I recall I received an "advance" of $500 for *Aztecas del Norte* and that is all I ever got. My royalty rate was so low that I never received another dime, and that brings up the second problem: one cannot make a living as an Indian writer (unless one has some other income).

Most Indian people have to work for bureaucratic agencies or for white people, or they have to produce art works or books to be sold to white audiences. Economically, most of our potentially talented people are castrated! They are either afraid to be authentic, cannot "live" on authenticity (like air it provides virtually no protein!), or they have never discovered, in any case, what it means to have a free mind.

Basically, one must have simple tastes and a modest life-style to be an "independent" Indian and while this is not bad in itself, the lack of money severely handicaps such activities as travel, dissemination of materials, promotion of products, sharing of ideas with others, and so on. *The struggle to survive cuts down on the productivity of many Indians.*

Similarly, working for a white agency (such as a university) leaves little time or energy (often) for Indian-oriented creative work, even where the atmosphere might be such as to tolerate it. (And most universities will not promote a professor who writes for an Indian audience. For example from 1972 to 1979 I didn't receive a single "merit increase" from the University of California because key people didn't approve of such publications as *Aztecas del Norte: The Chicanos of Aztlan, American Words, A World Ruled By Cannibals, Grassroots Community Development, The Wapanakankiok Languages, Religious Freedom and the Protection of Native American Sacred Places,* and *Racism, Scholarship and Cultural Pluralism in Higher Education.*[12] They hated the latter study and threatened to have me fired largely because of it. (I didn't bother to report half of my articles.))

So much for "academic freedom." One is free only if you produce articles or books *about* Indians but written *for* white audiences, or so my experience indicates.

In any case, if one is to be authentic and have a free mind one must be prepared to pay the price. Sometimes it's not too great a price if one is working for a liberal university, but if one is working for a more bureaucratic agency, then the price is one's job. It's that simple.

So it is, then, that Native writers, artists, singers, and thinkers are severely handicapped. *So many of our great minds have to spend most of their time just taking care of the necessities*

of life so that their full potential is never realized. Still further, they have relatively few opportunities to have their thoughts, poems, stories, and music disseminated.

We have so much talent in the Indian world, but it is constantly being wasted, thwarted, or stifled. Can we change that?

Take for example our great musicians and song-writers like the late Ed Lee Natay, or Buffy Sainte-Marie, or Willie Dunn, or Floyd Westerman.[13] They are frozen off of the air waves, barricaded away from television, and isolated behind the "Sagebrush Curtain." Most of the time their records are unavailable (except for Buffy when she sings "folk" music). Indian music, if it is either "political" or traditional, is, in effect illegal.

The truth is that our most authentic music, books, and so on are all "outlaw" productions, *not* "illegal" in a technical sense but outlawed in practice.

A word might be said here also about the manner in which the white elites bestow "honors" upon such Black, Red-Black, or Indian singers as Ella Fitzgerald, Sarah Vaughn, Lena Horne, Pearl Bailey, the late Louis Armstrong, Rita Coolidge, and so forth. If you will analyze their songs you will discover that they virtually never sign a song with the slightest hint of protest or social criticism. They "entertain" white audiences and make them feel good.

Paul Robeson tried to do more than just "entertain." He got into serious social criticism and was literally driven into exile.

The white corporate society in which we live gives out rewards and punishments in such a way as to force non-white artists, singers, and writers to conform. The vast majority of Black, Red-Black, and Indian artists who are well known today and who are financially successful have given up all "serious" work. As "entertainers" of white people they have, in effect, given up their own people and the struggle for justice. (It is true that they serve as "role models" or "examples," but of what? Of "upward mobility" and cultural annihilation?).

We, as Indians, face planned cultural genocide, and the destruction of our intelligentsia is part of that process.

What can we do?

Restoring the "Greatness of the Indian Mind"

When I go out to give speeches now I don't talk about Indian politics much anymore. Instead I speak of "the greatness of the Indian mind" and I read lots of quotes from great Native thinkers, poets, and writers. Also I am very much into the notion of helping to organize conferences on Native books, poetry, songs, fiction, art, etc. Why? Because the vast majority of Native People have been brainwashed into almost total ignorance about their own intellectual-creative heritage! Somehow we have to revive the "greatness of the Indian mind." If we don't we will all perish as Indians.

Historically Indians were a philosopher-people, a race of "seekers after wisdom." Perhaps no group of people anywhere has so universally valued "wisdom" (as opposed to mere technical expertise). But that heritage has been gutted by the hard-sell of the fictitious notion that the Indians are ignorant savages. Incredible as it may seem, there are thousands of Indians who haven't the least awareness that their ancestors had a rich *intellectual* civilization. This is especially true among eastern Indians and among christianized groups farther west.

I recently read an article by a Lumbee author, in the *Carolina Indian Voice*. The article, an effort to revive the notion of a "Croatan" identity for the Lumbees, was enough to make any Indian cry not only because it echoed all of the fundamentalist christian stereotypes about

Native history but because it reflected our failure as Native writers and scholars to reach our own people with accurate information. Many Indian people, in places like North Carolina (or Oklahoma), are hemmed in by a shroud of racist, anti-Indian propaganda. It oozes from the pulpits, the newspapers, the radio, the television, and from school textbooks. The Native intelligentsia has not been able to pierce it.

It is true that occasionally in such areas one sees a copy of *Akwesasne Notes* here and there. It is true also that one meets individuals thirsty for accurate information. But by and large we have failed because most of our publications, cassette tapes, alternative films, and art works are *not* reaching the Indian people, especially in the "Bible Belt" states. Bookstores and record stores do not carry our materials, libraries do not buy them, and local Indian newspapers, like the *Carolina Indian Voice*, do not offer any promotion of Native materials.

If there is to be a Native intelligentsia, if it is to grow, and if its products are to be of any value to this generation of Indians we must seriously consider changing a few things.

First, we must all support D-Q University in its efforts to go beyond junior college programming. The trustees of DQU have approved the incorporation of a DQU Center for Advanced Studies, a separate school offering graduate degrees. This program will, however, fail unless additional funding is located and unless established Indian scholars are willing to work with DQU graduate students.

Additionally, we should do everything we can to help DQU develop advanced programs in such areas as film-making and television production, creative writing, and Native language literacy. (DQU formerly had an excellent Papago literacy program but it lost federal funding at a critical point. DQU also helped Zuni get a literacy project established.)

Secondly, whether at DQU or elsewhere, we need to stimulate the creation of a new style of Native film, one which directly serves the goals of Indian liberation and which uses Native languages as much as possible.

Thirdly, we need to encourage writing in Native languages (unless we have decided to become monolingual English-speakers). All of our languages will die if they exist only at the oral level. Many will disappear within the next five to ten years unless massive efforts are made to stimulate learning.

Languages which are not used will die. People will not learn to read unless there is something to be read.

Fourthly, we need to find ways to bring Native writers, artists, etc., together at *Indian* gatherings (not at white-dominated conferences) in order to stimulate an internal Indian dialogue. More groups need to use the DQU facilities for this purpose.

Fifthly, we need to support the D-Q University Press and other Indian-controlled publishing programs. Moreover, we need to develop a national Indian dissemination program that will make Indian books, pamphlets, tapes, records, films, videotapes, etc., available on a national basis, reaching every Indian community.

A catalogue of such materials would be a beginning. But beyond that we need to consider ways of developing local programs, such as a "mobile store" owned and operated by a family which reaches all of the pow-wows, conferences, and communities in a given area. Perhaps such mobile stores could provide a family with a livelihood and also result in thorough dissemination.

It is clear that we cannot break into the average white bookstore (most of which are now chain-owned and operated), except under very rare circumstances.

Finally, we must make sure that all BIA schools, Indian-controlled schools, and Title IV education centers purchase Indian-authored materials. This is clearly not the case at present, since the buying power of such agencies, alone, could have made "best-sellers" out of many of our books, pamphlets, cassettes, and films.

We still dream of a D-Q University where Indian films are made, where bright young Indians share dialogue with great Indian minds, where books in Native languages are published, where Indian novelists get together to discuss Indian literature, and where the Native intelligentsia has a home-base, secure from white control.

This dream has not been realized yet. A start has been made, but only a start. Will the national Indian community realize before it is too late that the struggle to create DQU is central to the Native movement for self-determination?

Tribally-controlled junior colleges are popular because they can be operated locally and can fit into the needs of the reservation tribal bureaucracy. Each tribe wants jobs and money flowing into its reservation.

A national Indian university is more difficult to create, especially if it tries to meet the needs of grassroots and traditional people as well as those of the emerging Indian middle-class.

Is there an Indian constituency to support a pan-Indian university? Is there an Indian constituency to encourage the development of an independent Indian intelligentsia? What happens with DQU will help to answer both of these questions.

FOOTNOTES

[2]Jack D. Forbes, "Colonialism and American Education" in Joshua Reichert and Miguel Trujillo, *Perspectives on Contemporary Native American and Chicano Educational Thought* (Davis: D-Q University Press, 1973-74, pp. 17-38).

[3]Carlos Montezuma (Yavapai) edited the first pan-Indian periodical in the second decade of this century.

[4]Charles Alexander Eastman (Ohiyesa; Sioux) worked as a medical doctor on Pine Ridge during the Wounded Knee massacre 1890. He published several books, among them *Indian Boyhood* (1902) and *From the Deep Woods to Civilization* (1916), both reprinted by Bison Books (1971 and 1977 respectively.)

[5]Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press, 1968, 1961).

[6]Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (New York: Orion Press, 1965).

[7]C.f. pp. 21ff. of this study.

[8]Oliver La Farge, "The New Indians" (quoted by memory.).

[9]Ruth Beebe Hill, *Hanta Yo: An American Saga* (New York: Warner Books, 1979.).

[10]Vine Deloria, Jr. *Custer Died for Your Sins* (London: Collier-Macmillan, 1969).

[11]Jack D. Forbes, *Aztecas del Norte* (New York: Fawcett, 1973).

[12]Excepting *Aztecas del Norte*, all these were published by Tecumseh Center, UC Davis.

[13]Their records were released by Canyon Records (Ed Lee Natay, Paul Ortega), Vanguard and Folkways (Buffy Sainte-Marie), Akwesasne Notes/White Roots of Peace (Willie Dunn) and Perception (Floyd Westermann).

Roger Neadeau*

"WHO'S GONNA HIRE A MACHINE-GUNNER..."

*Roger Neadeau is an Ojibway from Red Lake Reservation, Minnesota. He is a student of UC Davis and has been involved in AIM since Alcatraz. He took part in the Pit River struggle, Wounded Knee II and, here most importantly, in the occupation of the D-QU land-site.

This interview was taped at Tecumseh Center on April 10, 1980. There is a story behind it that deserves being told. After having finished the draft of chapter 2 I discussed some aspects of it with David Risling, Jr., who then told me about some of the conflicts between the occupiers and the D-QU initiators, and I made changes in the manuscript accordingly. The next day, while talking to Roger Neadeau, I found out that he was one of those occupiers from outside Davis. Again, I made some alterations in the manuscript. Also , I am including the part of our interview relating to D-Q, giving Roger's point of view. The next item after this one, taken from *The Establishment of D-QU* by Jack Forbes, David Risling, Jr., and Kenneth Martin, will give you the other view. (c.f. pp. 95 - 99 in this anthology).

-Me and one of my friends - he had just come back from Viet Nam, he was an Indian from Oklahoma - and he said, "Well, I don't want to live in L.A. So, let's go to San Francisco," he said, "I know a friend who lives up at Alcatraz." I said, "hey, that sounds alright." So we got some money together and we came up to San Francisco and we stayed up on Alcatraz.
-When was that?
-I believe it was in the Fall of '69 we came up there, and we stayed around here until my friend eventually went back to Oklahoma, - and I stayed up in Alcatraz.
-How many people were there, about?
-I can't remember exactly, but there must have been around 120, 140 people - it was fluctuating all the time.
-How did you handle support, supplies, and all that?
-We had a boat called the "Clearwater" that the "Clearwater Revival" had donated to Alcatraz, and we used to park at Pier 40 on the piers over in San Francisco. We had an office in one of the buildings that are on the pier right there. We would go and pick up our water supply and food supplies, and stuff. Early every day somebody would take the boat and leave at a certain time, buy stuff, and come back at a certain time. I stayed out there for a while until we heard from the people from the mainland that people had occupied an abandoned army site in Davis. Me and a few other people I met on Alcatraz, they and everybody were just curious. And there was a bunch of people that was getting ready to come up here and check it out. So, I decided to come along with them.
-When was that? In November '70?
-Yes, this was in Noverber, - December 1970.
-How many of you were there who came over from Alcatraz?
-I think there was a dozen of us who came up here.
-And about how many were there already out on the site?
-I'm not really sure on numbers, but I think when we got out here there was probably 15 people.
-And were they from the Davis campus?
-Most of them were from UCD. - We would go and stay out here for a while, then we would go out again to Alcatraz, stay at Alcatraz for a while, then come back up here. And then we had a lot of stuff up at Pit River at that time and we used to go up to Pit River, also, to give them support.
-Can you say something about the problems that are said to have evolved between the DQU initiators and the occupiers? There is supposed to have been a power struggle, and that those from the outside, from Alcatraz, were using drugs and alcohol. Some say the occupiers were going to take over everything. What do you say to that?
-I don't really think that those people were going to completely take over everything. That particular group - I think they were more or less willing to leave the thing stand as it was. They just wanted the essentials, - the basics.
-Such as...?
-Such as food and water.
-How was that handled? - the supplies?
-They had different people coming out there, but they weren't regular. I guess they more or less went out whenever they felt like it or when somebody called too many times and said, "Hey, we don't have any water, we don't have any food".
-Did you have transportation?

-No! Nobody had access to any kind of vehicles or anything.
-So you had to rely on outside support?
-We had to rely on the people over here.
-How did you get along with the students who were out there?
-I myself, I got along with everyone, but that doesn't mean everybody else got along. I think that the majority of people who went to school here, they eventually just stopped going out there, and so there was more or less just a handful of people out there.
-Were they the same people all the time?
-No, it changed.
-You mentioned earlier that, at times, you were the only person out there?
-Me, - or some other guys from out there.
-And how many from the Army were out there?
-I think, the people from the Army, there were only two or three at a time. They were changing shifts. We never had any problems because most of them who were pulling guard duty out there, they were stationed there anyway. They were operating out of Sacramento, and they were only there one month or two, or three months, and then they were getting out. We used to sit around and talk with them in the guard shacks or have coffee with them in their guard quarters where they were sleeping at.
-In the press cuttings that I found there's another incident that was related. Something about a fire in one of the buildings out at DQU. What was that?
-That was - how that fire was started? - You see, there were two people sleeping in that guard shack right at the front gate. Because there were always curious people coming through there, and in order to stop all the traffic coming through, because you don't know who's who, they shut the gate and there were two guys sleeping in the guard shack. There was no heating in there, so they had these space heaters and their sleeping bags. Anyway, what happened was that the space heater set one of the sleeping bags on fire and just ignited the whole place. By that time we were living in the administration building, and when they found out that the place was burning down they went out there and tried to put it out. And this guy named Manuel Cortez went right into the fire and burnt himself bad. They didn't have any cars out there to take him to Woodland General Hospital, where they would have treated them. I guess this one (a private hospital between DQU and Davis) was the only one there. They had to hail down a car of a passing motorist in order to get to this hospital over there. I think there were Leroy, Charley, Manuel Cortez was the one who was burnt, and Frank Valdez.
-Were they all Indians?
-Yes. Frank and Manuel were Paiutes, and Leroy is a California Indian, a Mono, plus the friend of mine who had been to Viet Nam. Anyway, they came to the hospital and this hospital said they weren't going to treat him because he was not covered by insurance. And Leroy and them guys, I guess they had been drinking a little bit, and when they were going to be turned away and this man was hurt, they figured that it was the only recourse to force the doctor to treat this man. And he was seriously injured.
-Was that the only excuse the doctor made, that he wasn't covered?
-Right!
-Why do you think the doctor said that?
-I don't know. They weren't going to treat him because he wasn't covered by any insurance. Anyway, Leroy pulled a knife on him and Frank got into it also. You know, they started

arguing with the doctor and everything. And this thing turned into a confrontation. What it broke down to: the doctor was saying that they were *not* going to do it and these guys were insisting that they *do* do it. Anyway, they were going to kick them out of the place and then Leroy grabbed the doctor and told him, "Listen", he says, "you know, you have to do it". And, I guess, whoever it was out there, the press got hold of it, and they blew it all out of proportion.

-Was the police involved?

-I imagine so.

(Here, we were interrupted by a phone call)

-You mentioned earlier that those people went on trial?

-I think they did. I don't know exactly what the outcome of the trials were, but I know my friend Leroy was arrested for it, anyway, and Frank left the state, and he went to Nevada, and from Nevada he went to British Columbia to escape prosecution for that. And the person who got seriously burnt eventually moved back to his home, too, in Reno.

-Do any of these people still have anything to do with DQU?

-No.

-So, what happened to those occupiers?

-I guess the one who got burned, he works and lives in Reno, and has a wife and three kids, I think. And Frank has a wife and two kids, and Leroy is in San Quentin.

-What did he do?

-Well, he turned into a wino, and he just started drinking really heavy. And because he was so big and everything, he strong-armed a few people, and he was subsequently busted for strong-armed robbery. I think he's doing two years. He should be out soon. This just happened recently, you know.

-Doesn't this happen to a lot of Indian veterans?

-Shit, I guess its probably more or less frustration and feeling of hopelessness. You know you can't secure any kind of job. They are discriminating against you anyway for being an Indian and also for being a Veteran. They don't want to hire you because you might flip out on them, or you have some peculiar or erratic behaviors. That's about all I can think about it. Plus, I think, they don't have any kind of programs that do cater for veterans, - or combat veterans, anyway, as far as psychological conflicts are concerned.

-Do you think that psychological counseling would help?

-I think it probably would. - And they don't have any kind of trade. Who's gonna hire a machine gunner? - Or one that used to carry a rocket launcher, or whatever? Or just a ground-pounder that used to carry a rifle? Nobody has any use for them, you know.

-So they're misfits when they come back?

-Right.

-Coming back to DQU: -you said you left on Deed Day?

-Yeah, I left on Deed Day?

-How did you feel when you left on Deed Day?

-I more or less felt that -. Well, I was glad about the fact that they secured the title to the place. I figured that my stay there was more or less over with because they didn't have any need for people occupying the place any more.

-Wouldn't there have been anything that you could have done to stay?

-I guess, I could have stayed and become a student, but I wasn't eligible for any kind of

money or that kind of thing, because I was AWOL*from the service and I had to have that taken care of. But, eventually, I did have all that taken care of, and I went back and stayed at DQ as a student for a quarter. But I wasn't really successful, then, as a student, because I wasn't really interested in school or any stuff at that time. So I just more or less eventually phased myself out of that.

-When was that?

-'72.

The Daily Democrat
DAVIS EDITION
Serving all of Yolo county since 1857 — Woodland, California Saturday, February 20, 1971

Youth burned as fire guts building at D-QU

In this case, obviously, the press did not receive all the sensational gossip or eye-witness information they had hoped for. However, questions and suspicions raised but left unanswered may lead to more fear and uncertainties than full information.

A youth whose hands and face were burned when fire gutted the guard shack at D-QU west of Davis early today was reported in good condition at Yolo General hospital in Woodland this morning.

Manuel Cortez, 17, whose address is listed as Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl university, was first taken to Davis Community hospital on county road 31 about four miles east of the former army communications center which is being set up as an Indian-Chicano school.

A disturbance reportedly took place at the Davis hospital when one of the youth's companions apparently became enraged at a doctor because he (the companion) felt the medical man was not giving the sufferer proper attention. Eyewitnesses said Cortez' companion pulled a knife on the doctor; no injury was done, however. No arrests were reported.

Assistant West Plainfield Fire Chief Al Bascomb, within whose jurisdiction D-QU is located, said the Winters fire department was the first to receive the alarm shortly after midnight. The Winters department notified Yolo county communications, which then contacted West Plainfield headquarters.

Bascomb said he and his men got to the guard shack with three engines moments after a Winters detachment and engine arrived on the scene. He indicated the small building was completely on fire at that time, with flame belching from doors and windows. No one was then in the building, he added. The fire was extinguished quickly and Bascomb and his firemen performed an on-the-scene investigation.

"There was no evidence that the fire started near a major electrical outlet," the assistant chief told the "Democrat" afterward. "Nor was there any evidence of a stove in the building."

One of Cortez' companions, however, was quoted by a law enforcement officer later as stating the fire started in a portable gas heater.

Bascomb, a former Woodland fire captain and inspector, said he would "normally" conduct a follow-up investigation, but did not intend to do so in this case.

"Our job is done," he declared. "The fire is out. No lives were lost.

"We decided not to continue investigation because of indefinite conditions at the site. I have no intention of conducting further investigation unless I am so directed by my superiors."

The fire occurred at an unquestionably inopportune time: Indians and Mexican Americans from all over the country are to gather tomorrow for conferences on the organization of the new institution of higher learning.

The regional director of the federal department of health, education and welfare Thursday recommended to department headquarters in Washington, D.C. that the former army site be permanently awarded to D-QU. The justice department and the general services administration must also approve the transfer.

The story of the incident at Davis Community hospital after the fire is somewhat sketchy. The hospital is within the territorial jurisdiction of the Yolo county sheriff's department, and deputies involved had not filed their reports by

Self BACK PAGE

FIRE AT DQU — The guard shack at the former army communications center west of Davis, now the site of the Indian-Chicano Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl university, was gutted by a fire of undetermined origin shortly after midnight today. Manuel Cortez, age and address unavailable, suffered burns on the hands and face and was taken to Davis Community hospital for treatment.

Youth burned at D-QU

Continued from Page 1

press time today. No one on duty at department headquarters in Woodland professed any knowledge of the case other than a two-word radio log entry.

Eight law enforcement officers from four organizations — Davis and UCD police, the California highway patrol and the sheriff's department — responded to a radio call advising of a "knife fight" at the hospital. This was an apparent reference to te quick flashing of a knife during the aforementioned argument, however, and no injuries were inflicted.

The Cortez youth's companions were reported to have made remarks about alleged racial prejudice on the part of hospital staffers.

Calm was restored at about 2:30 a.m. and no further incidents occured.

*AWOL = Absent Without Leave

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Scuffle at hospital

Fire burns youth at DQU site

A racial flare-up took place at Davis community hospital early Saturday morning when friends of a victim in an earlier fire at the DQU guard shack charged that he was receiving discriminatory treatment.

Four area police departments were called to settle the incident after one of the youths allegedly pushed a doctor up to the wall and put a knife to his throat.

No arrests were made.

Manuel Cortez, 17, whose address was given as Deganawidah- Quetzalcoatl university, was reportedly taken from the former army communications center by friends to the Davis community hospital after he received burns in the guard shack fires.

No other injuries were reported in the fire, and Cortez is now listed in satisfactory condition by Yolo general hospital officials who say Cortez will be released in four or five days.

According to a nurse on duty at Davis community, two young men reported to her at about 12:25 a.m. that "there was a man badly burned at the army communications center about a mile down the Winters road." The nurse, who wishes to remain unnamed, says she called the Davis ambulance service, and was assured an ambulance would be sent.

(The Davis ambulance service says it did dispatch an ambulance, but that no one was there when they arrived).

Shortly thereafter, four youths including Cortez entered through the emergency door, and the nurse says "there was much screaming and yelling from the moment they stepped inside the hospital."

The nurse further charges that all hospital personnel present including herself were submitted to extensive obscene name calling by the youths, one of whom pulled a knife to slash off Cortez' jacket.

The doctor arrived approximately 10-15 minutes later, according to the nurse, and was immediately barraged with obscenities. Then without provocation he was pushed up against the wall and a knife was held against his throat, according to the nurse, for "at least 30-60 terrifying seconds."

Dave Risling, a DQU leader, told the Enterprise this morning that Cortez' friends felt that he was being improperly and discriminatorally treated.

"They (Cortez' friends) told me the doctor laughed at them, their Indian clothes, and asked crazy questions," said Risling. "I think they felt they were forced into it."

Risling added that he thought that the incident was unfortunate, that the doctor himself later saw that, and "that's why they are not filing charges."

Officer Peterson of the Davis police department who responded to the call said he was met at the emergency door

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Aristotle is on page 10

when he arrived by a nurse who hysterically told him several Indians were threatening the doctor and nurse with knives.

Peterson said he met resistence from one Indian when he tried to enter the emergency room. However, he was able to deal with the confrontation without resort to force.

Risling and Jack Forbes of DQU were then advised of the incident by the Davis police, and they came out to the scene by about 2 a.m. according to Risling, and all was quiet.

According to the Yolo county sheriffs office, which had jurisdiction in the case, no arrests have or will be made. Other police departments responding to the call were Davis police, university police, and the California highway patrol.

The earlier fire was handled primarily by assistant West Plainfield fire chief Al Bascomb who has juridiction over the area where DQU is located. He was called by the Winters fire department who initially received the call.

According to Plainfield fire officials, cause of the fire could not be determined, but that it was extinguished quickly. No one was around when Bascomb and other firemen arrived.

Despite the fire, Indians and Chicanos from around the country met at DQU yesterday to discuss plans for the university.

Davis Enterprise
Feb. 22, 1971

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Jack D. Forbes, Kenneth R. Martin, David Risling, Jr.

INTERNAL PROBLEMS FACED BY THE D-Q MOVEMENT*

*The following article is an excerpt taken from a small booklet by Forbes, Martin, and Risling, entitled *The Establishment of D-Q University: An Example of Successful Indian-Chicano Community Development*, published by D-QU Press in December 1972 (10 pp.; pp. 5 - 9). I have included it here together with Roger Neadeau's account of the occupation and incidents surrounding it in order to allow readers to put the mosaic together themselves (c.f. pp. 89 - 93 of this anthology).

Unfortunately, none of the former UC-Davis students involved in the occupation, whom I asked, were willing to give an interview or write an article, so that their point of view is lost.

Internal Problems Faced by the D-Q Movement

The occupation of the communications center site by Indian elements on November 3 (Election Day) ultimately created a new set of problems for the movement which threatened, from time to time, to cause the entire effort to fail. Initially, the occupation was completely under the control of students from UCD and several nearby colleges; within a few hours, however, Indians who had been associated to one degree or another with the Alcatraz and other occupations (and who were non-students or ex-students) arrived. Many of these newcomers were unaware of the history of the D-Q movement and did not understand or wish to adhere to a multiple strategy of occupation in support of formal acquisition by recognized procedures. Instead, they argued for simple seizure or "liberation" according to a doctrine of "Indian rights" which refused to recognize the legitimacy of negotiating with the white government. To some degree also a few of the newcomers had embraced a style of Indian life which included the use of drugs and alcohol, and which, if allowed to develop at the site, would threaten the success of the occupation.

Initially the leaders of the occupation were able to discourage the presence of drug users and persons who did not wish to adhere to the purposes of the occupation. They were able to do this because of a combination of fortunate circumstances. First, the student leaders were of high calibre; second, they perhaps had learned something of procedure, strategy, tactics and leadership principles in the Tecumseh Center Native American Studies program, or elsewhere, and third, morale and *esprit de corps* was high. Nonetheless, it took a considerable effort, on the part of both students and faculty leaders, to prevent the occupation from adopting a "confrontation philosophy."

As the months wore on, most of the student occupiers were gradually forced to return to their studies and to devote their energies to other matters. The "occupiers," therefore, gradually changed in composition, as non-students and ex-students came to predominate and total numbers dropped. By early 1971 the majority of the "occupiers" were Indians who had not participated in the original occupation, who had never studied at Tecumseh Center, and who were partially unfamiliar with the original goals of the occupation.

Many difficulties developed, the details of which need not concern us here. It is generally recognized that in any effort of this nature there should be discipline and loyalty, for otherwise a movement can either be altered in its purpose or destroyed by unplanned actions. It was difficult to maintain loyalty and discipline, however, when the "occupiers" were largely newcomers who had come to the DQU site on their own, with no one's permission (i.e., as "free agents" in the Indian liberation struggle) the official leadership of DQU could do little to control the situation because their court case prevented them from entering the site and, in any case, the occupation was under student direction.

The Indian students were unable to maintain control over the occupation after the first month or two because few of them were continuously at the site and because, gradually the "occupiers" began to assert themselves as a legitimate power-center in their own right.

It is, of course, not at all surprising that the "occupiers" developed as a distinct group not answering to any other authority. The very fact of their being in occupation and having the ability to greatly embarrass the total movement created a possibility of power acquisition. If they had been fully loyal to the collective leadership they might not have made use of their power, but as explained above, about half were "free agents" having no deep friendship, committments or associations with the bulk of the people in the DQU movement.

Ostensibly the differences which developed between the "occupiers" and those on the "outside" related to such matters as having hot food delivered regularly. In reality, however, the disagreements were much deeper. The "occupiers" felt that they should have a greater say in policy-making (although two were DQU board members) and, more significantly, they distrusted the motives, or disagreed with the objectives of the leadership. In general the "occupiers" wanted to be sure that DQU was to be a truly "grassroots" institution and not merely an Indian-controlled replica of the University of California. Some or all of the "occupiers" were highly alienated from white society (and even Indian society, in a few cases) and were suspicious of all "white" procedures. One or two had serious problems with alcohol and, perhaps, drugs. It may be that a few had located a resting place where they didn't have to work and where food was free (although not always good). The latter persons may have favored, essentially, developing the site as a kind of "inland Alcatraz" (where people could just do what they pleased, with few responsiblities) rather than as a university. The general character of the "occupiers" was that of persons wanting very much to be truly Indian but few of them having really strong grounding in any particular traditional Indian culture.

As the weeks passed the "occupiers" began to become more and more hostile towards those on the "outside", referring to themselves as the "outcasts of DQU" on several occasions. Many of their grievances and concerns were legitimate since, from their perspective, those on the outside were not doing anything of significance. They failed, however, to see all of the activity going on, activity which was necessary to actually secure legal title to the site (including the obtaining of funds adequate to convince DHEW of the University's future solidarity). It should be said, on the other hand, that the movement failed to maintain enough constant contact with the "occupiers" and especially failed to offer any on-site instruction in traditional Indian life-ways, strategy and tactics et cetera. The shortage of manpower can be blamed for this failure, but it was failure nonetheless.

Events reached a climax after the site was turned over by DHEW to DQU for supervision, in January. On several occasions the "occupiers" issued ultimatums and prevented DQU persons from entering the site. Finally, a confrontation occurred when the "occupiers" (and "allies" brought from Alcatraz) tried to prevent a large group of Indians and Chicanos from entering the site for a meeting. After much heated discussion at the locked gates it was agreed to hold an all-Indian meeting to try to settle the differences existing between the "occupiers" and the "outsiders".

The meeting (February 2) was largely successful, in that the majority of the Indians present reached a general consensus. The trustees present agreed to speed up the plan whereby a mass meeting of Indian people would democratically select the Indian half of the Board of Trustees, while, in a different room, the Chicanos would do the same.

On February 21 some 400 Indians and Chicanos, of all walks of life, converged on the DQU site to, for perhaps the first time in history, select democratically and openly the governing board of a university. They chose to retain all of the existing trustees who were present and willing to serve but added to them, to make a total of 32 trustees. Many committees were formed and all internal problems seemed resolved.

Unfortunately, however, the "occupiers" (who had now dwindled in number to about six, and none of whom were students) proved largely uncooperative. The most hostile at times threatened the ability of committees to operate. Finally, however, they got into difficulties

with law enforcement agencies and were eventually forced to leave.

The April 2nd "Deed Day", when the deed was formally handed over to the DQU trustees, saw an end to the internal difficulties described above, for the most part.

Analysis of the Internal Problems

It has been necessary to review, even if superficially, some of the internal problems of the D-Q Movement, in order to make clear that DQU, like most Indian and Chicano efforts, was not created without serious difficulties.

First, a few problems arose because of the nature of the D-Q movement as an alliance of Indians and Chicanos. Surprisingly perhaps, this factor was of relatively minimal significance for several reasons:

1. Although the occupation was Indian, the Chicanos undertook to raise funds, obtain supplies, et cetera, so that everyone was involved;
2. Most persons sensed that there were few, if any, racial differences between the two groups. Individuals in both groups ranged from full-Indian in appearance to Caucasian appearances;
3. It was soon discovered that the cultural, social, and political values of the two groups were markedly similar;
4. Close personal friendships were forged during many hours of working closely together, and
5. No religious differences surfaced in spite of the fact that virtually all of the Indians were non-Christian while a majority of the Chicanos were, presumably at least, Roman Catholic.

The last element of the "occupiers" included a few persons professing anti-Chicano feelings, however, they were equally hostile towards other Indians following a life style different from that of their own.

In summary, the Indian-Chicano coalition functioned well and has continued to show no signs of diminishing in effectiveness.

Second, occasional problems arose because of the bringing together, in one movement, of adults and youth ranging in age from the upper teens through the early sixties. This proved to be of no real significance, however, confirming the Indian and Chicano belief that the "generation gap", at least, is not one of our more serious difficulties.

Third, a few problems arose because the movement included both academic (faculty-staff-student) types and community people. Again, however, no serious difficulties arose, probably because the staff of Tecumseh Center and most of the Chicano academics were already accustomed to (and dedicated to) working with their communities.

Fourth, the most serious problems arose because of the bringing together of persons with different life-styles and values. This, however, only reached serious proportions when the last group of "occupiers" came to largely represent a highly marginal, anti-social variant of detribalized urban Indian culture. That is, the last group included one or two persons who were unable, or willing, to subordinate hostile and violent tendencies to movement loyalty.

On the whole, of course, the D-Q movement was extremely successful, especially so when we consider that the movement commenced "without a dime" and continued to operate with no funds of any consequence through mid-1972. Some of the major factors contributing to the internal success of the movement need to be examined:

1. The movement included a group of persons with many talents and, often, with comple-

mentary skills. The most important talents were in the area of inter-personal relations, i.e., being able to work together and encourage an atmosphere of unity.

2. The movement included a wide spectrum of persons but all were deeply committed to Indo-Chicano liberation. Almost all could be categorized as "separatists" or "nationalists" (as opposed to "assimilationists") and virtually all were realists pursuing a moderate-to-radical strategy. A few of the more "conservative" soon became relatively inactive while the "confrontation for the sake of confrontation" people played a minimal role.

3. The movement was democratic and open, with no secret meetings (although small groups met to plan specific aspects of the program).

4. Persons who could not be trusted were not involved in leadership positions, nor were they relied upon for assistance. This included Indian employees of the federal government, Indian employees of OEO-funded programs, and persons known for vacillation under pressure. (This is not to say that all persons in the above categories declined to help, but simply that no reliance was placed upon them).

5. No major Indian or Chicano "politicians," tribal chairmen, et cetera, were involved in the movement. (This prevented, perhaps, "grand-standing" or in-fighting on the part of the leadership).

6. The movement always had the potentiality of success, since people in the movement knew how to grapple, at least in theory, with every kind of legal, tactical, propagandistic, and technical difficulty which arose. In this area one can see the importance of academically trained and/or experienced people working in direct alliance with community people. "Grassroots" people, probably could not have successfully acquired the site in the face of bureaucratic opposition.

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Cipriano Manuel *

"THAT'S WHAT I WOULD LIKE DQU TO BECOME . . ."

*Cip Manuel worked together with DQU on the NALE (Native American Language Education) project in 1974/75 as the coordinator of the project on the Papago Reservation. Today, he is a member of the Tribal Council. The interview was taped in Sells, on March 11, 1980 during a visit to Papago.

It's very different from what it used to be. All the ways in which we used to handle our affairs changed radically. It is the decline of everything, including the language, - particularly language. That's where I think the major problem is: the decline of the language.
-When the NALE-project started, did it start here on the Papago Reservation? I mean, was it initiated right here?
-Well, yes.
-How did that come about?
-It wasn't very easy. We had a real difficult time, trying to initiate it. But it came about mostly because the elders were very excited about it.
-From the beginning?
-From the beginning. The way that we presented to them, they began to get very enthusiastic about it in the very beginning. We heavily relied on them and they were heavily involved in it. That was to me why it continued. We had our site where we operated from, away from here. But the minute we got it here, which I knew was going to happen, the people and the politicians here, locally, the BIA, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, - you see, this is the center of all the alien forms of how we are supposed to be, and this is the center...
-You mean, the BIA fought the project?
-Oh, yes, very strongly.
-What reasons did they give?
-They didn't really give any reason. They were just against it. And they were - as usual with everything else here - very subtle. Well, to give an example: when we were being audited by the government, they came here and they went to talk to them (the BIA tribal establishment) and they got the information from them that we were fighting, - and they believed it, that we were against them, that we were just an enemy to them. Then, they believed it. You know, we have four different education systems operating here on Papago, we have the Bureau of Indian Affairs, we have the Public School, which is State controlled, we have the church, which is the Catholic church school, and then we have the tribal - and the only one that tried to work with us was this tribal one.
-Does the Tribe have its own school?
-Oh, yeah, it has. I mean, just one portion. At that time it was called the Early Childhood Center. That was strictly tribally run. And the only reason they worked with us was because one had a person in there who was very supportive of her native beliefs. And they fired her, meaning the Tribal Education Department. We have a tribal Education Department: Again it is misleading. What it does is that it actually works and supports the public school, catholic school and the BIA. Now, when you hear about it, called the Papago Tribal Education Department, you get the notion that this is the tribe's form of education. Yet, what it does, it supports the others, it works with them. And whatever curriculum or form of education they have arranged, then, that's what they promote. What I feel, and I'd like to press for, is revitalizing the Papago way of education.
-Anything like Survival Schools?
-I think it's even more radical because I said we would do that from the very beginning, just using the native language, because I feel that whether it is economics, law, the whole world, mathematics, we have it. The only thing is if we can work up the curriculum. From there we don't have to move into English, instead of the other way around. Well, and that went over like a lead-balloon, - it didn't go nowhere. I've never been to a Survival School,

I don't know how they want it, but that's how I was trying to plan. I don't think the Survival Schools use the native language. And we started to work on it. Of course, we were criticized, we were opposed, saying "Can you enter into the area of mathematics?" So we started to prepare a time table, in Papago. We were going. But as usual, the system and the way, the methods and the rules that these people have! When we were working on this time table, multiplication table, I wanted it to be just this. Just a very small group, like maybe, one grade, and have it introduced just to that very small segment, and also have it so that it would be put on strictly a trial basis. I asked that we test the students to see where they're at, from the beginning. And then, after a period, or even periodically, test it to see whether they really have gained anything from that. That would establish what we were doing. If it is not working, then we would rework the math and see if we get it so that they would be able to comprehend. But, man, these people, as usual, they got all excited, just saying, "Well, that's great that you can do it. We're gonna use it." They weren't even going along with the plan. And they wanted to do it right away.

-Where, in all the schools here?

-Right! As I said, we moved here. Right here. We were out at Santa Rosa, for a long time, that's where we were first.

-And you tried it out there?

-Yeah. And since it was new, at that time, we hadn't reached that far. Because we started from, some say, scratch, but if there's anything below that, that's where we really started. And while we were in Santa Rosa we were just fighting for survival all the time. That was the first stages of our existence. Then, the last portion, we were here. We moved here into a trailer. So it was here we tried to work with the elementary school. It came apart.

-So, there's nothing left of it?

-Nothing.

-They don't even use the materials anymore?

-No more, except...I take it back. We taught - when we were at Santa Rosa, one of the things that we did was we taught some of the people that were employed by the BIA, the public school, ...

-Was that the boarding school up there? I think we passed it.

-Yeah, that was the one that was definitely against it. In fact, one teacher who tried to work with us was threatened. But schools like Saint Simon, and others, well we taught them. And now those people that we taught are teaching in these schools.

-And they are Indian teachers?

-They're Indian teachers, yes.

.....

I don't know what, but just like you are saying about how people as far remote as Germany are sensitive to it.** Well, it's the same way here. I somehow found that. Like, when we were having classes here. My first interest in teaching the language was back in 1970, ten years ago, at Pima College, here in Tucson. I noticed that most of the people that did well and were very interested were non-Indians, non-Papagos. The Papago students that I had in my language class, they couldn't care less.

-Well, why do you think that is so?

-I don't know. I don't know. But that's, that was the same way here...I don't know, I really don't know. Even my own children. If I could work it, if I could turn it. But I

don't have it. I don't know what it is. And it's moving, it's even more so now than ever.

.....

-Do you think there should be a center where people of your mind could meet?

-I think so. I think there is a real need to exchange, to discuss some of these views, ideas, and see. From what little I have been able to discern from my contacts, I feel that, basically everything is almost the same, the way we look at life.

-Do you think that D-QU could become a place like that?

-It could, I was very supportive of it, except that what we have already pointed out. It seems like everybody wants to push it under. What I would like for a center, if it would be possible, to be located on an Indian settlement rather than..., but on the other hand, if it can't be, then that's what I would like DQU to become, even though my preference would be to - see, last Council Meeting I talked that we should work for a Community College here on Papago. And that was one of the things behind my thinking. If we could get that kind of an establishment here.

-So that the young people won't have to go away, - yeah, that's tough. I know that J. is the only Papago up there, and that's pretty tough.

-That's definitely one of the effective ways in the erosion of our ways, getting the young people away. That's why I want to see them here.

Throughout the USA, there are large and often costly programs to attract Native American students to the large establishment universities. However, these programs will also help to accelerate the process of cultural erosion, described by Cip Manuel in this article and discussed by Jack Forbes in his essay in this collection (pp.75-88). Unless Native Americans control their own institutions, preferably on site, there will be no changes.

The Educational Path for American Indians

**I'd told Cip Manuel that in one of the films shown on German television about Native Americans in the US and Canada today, there was a sequence about Papago and also about the language project, showing elders producing educational materials, etc.

Darrell Standing Elk*

BEING INDIAN IS A SPIRITUAL THING

*Darrell Standing Elk is a Sioux from Rosebud, South Dakota, He came to D-QU in 1974, after having worked in California for 16 years. He is a graduate from UCD, Tecumseh Center, and he is currently working with that university as an EOP counsellor. Most important, however, is his work with D-QU, where he teaches classes in Lakota language and religion, conducting sweat ceremonies and helping to build solar homes, arbors and whatever is needed.

The following article is based on several interviews taped at Tecumseh Center in Spring 1980.

My name is Darrell Standing Elk. I was born on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota in 1940. I first came to California in 1958. I went to Pierre Indian School in Pierre, South Dakota, but I refused white education, and I went to school, probably, at most, eight years.

-Were the teachers white?

-Yes, they were all white. In those eight years those people instead of teaching me something in education, they were so busy taking things away from me that they didn't have time to teach me anything. I wasn't interested in it anyway. In those days they always said your dad has to go to jail if you don't go to school. So it's a must. If you don't go to school police will come and check on you at home.

-Has that changed since then?

-In a way it's still there. There is some new word for it now, "Truant Officer." That's what they have now. They go around the community and make sure the kids go to school. That's the same thing.

-Would the truant officers be Indians, working with the BIA?

-Yes. They get their information from school. Whoever is not in school, they call him up and go over.

-Was the school you went to a boarding school?

-No, it was a public school.

-Were they all Indian kids?

-No, they weren't. There were just a few Indian kids going to school there.

-How was the relationship between...

-It's not good where I am from. In South Dakota, there isn't any relationship at all. As far as I am concerned, there is only..., there are only Indians and Whites. If you are Indian, I don't care what you do or how much money you have, or anything.

-I know South Dakota to have the worst reputation for racism against Indians, and if you think of Janklow being governor,-why, that proves it. When you said earlier that you still have contacts with the people back home, how do you...

-Even though I'm in California, I have contact all the time. I am going to relations and relatives, even if I have to go back six times a year,-I'll do it. I'm into religion. At one time I put aside my religion, and I worked hard at a job for sixteen years, construction, carpentry, and all that stuff, in San Jose, California. I finally decided that that wasn't for me. Physically I was getting sick. It was just something that I did. I wasn't trying to prove that I could be a white person. It was something that I had to do.

-You said that, physically, working in the construction business, made you sick?

-Well, actually, it's not physically. Physically, to work in construction, was good for me. What got to me is that, day after day, I had to go, early in the morning, getting into that rush hour traffic, that really got me. Then, coming back, it was the same way. So, once I left San Jose and came over here I didn't have to worry about that.

-What year was that?

-That was 1974. Actually, I quit the construction business in 1971. Then I worked at Lockheed, which is a satellite center. The reason I was working there was that I could work at nights and go to school during the day. I went to San Jose City College. Then I left City College to come to U.C. Davis. I met a person who came from U.C. Davis who made it sound like it was really good over here. I'm here ever since; I like it. I like the place. It's smaller

than San Jose, not much traffic. Then I got interested in D-Q, because I'm used to working day after day and on weekends too, sometimes I even have two jobs. Not because I want to,-I just like to keep myself busy. So, when I came over here and I was going to school, I was missing something, then. It seemed like I wasn't doing something that I was used to. So I started going out to D-QU, and then I started building these sweat-lodges. There was one there but it wasn't in use for years. It was really in a bad position. Even the covers were all rotten. Nobody ever cleaned it, or nothing. It just sat there. So, I pulled that one down and I burnt it. Then I built one there and I started going in a circle, and I came out with that four pointed star. When I first started it, I didn't...

-So, you started the four-point one first?

-Yeah, but I wasn't...That wasn't intentionally done. So, I built one, and when my uncles came to bless it, a lot of people showed up and they had to wait. So, I thought I'd build another one right next to it. So, when they were there I built that other one, so they could bless it before they left again. When I did that, it wasn't enough, again. More people came, and they had to wait in line. What I did was, I was going to put three in a row. Not exactly in a straight line but kind of curved. When I put that one up, I started building another one. Before I knew it I got seven of them, and then I ended up with that. It's kind of a national thing, you know. It wasn't intentionally done. For some reason it just came out that way. I didn't measure it out, but all the sweat-lodges are almost spaced alike.

-You said earlier, you had a hard time later on figuring out...

-Yeah. Later on I figured out how to lay one out on paper. It's hard to do. So, anyway, that's how it happened. It was not intentionally done but for some reason it came out that way.

-You mentioned once that there are seven forms of prayer in the Lakotah religion...

-Yeah, there is. They call it "seven ways of praying," "seven rites." It's the way they pray. The sweat lodge itself is a prayer. But that's one lodge, then one lodge is the Sun Dance religion, and so on. I could give you the names of these in writing, if you want me to (cf. Appendix 1). That's the way. Sioux have seven ways of praying. All those other ones are almost like ceremonies. There's the hunkapiye, they call it, the making of relative. They take somebody in the family. That's how they never have...then they take somebody else. That's how they always have a mother, a father, you know. I think it's really a good practice. People keep it up. The old people you take, they're just like your own.

-So there will never be motherless children, fatherless children or old people without somebody?

-I know for a fact that it works out really good. It actually takes place of your mother or father. Some people should practice, -they should still do those things.

-After you built those sweat lodges or as you built them, the Sun Dance came to DQU?

-Yeah, then Dennis came, and he asked me...

-Was that in 1975?

-Yeah. He came out there. He and some other people sweated out there. They said they want to...this would be a good place for the Sun Dance, you know. And they were looking for a place, I guess. They came down from Portland, Oregon, he was going on trial up there. So we started building that arbor. But I already had all those on paper. I sketched it out. So it was on my mind already. I staked it all out. I knew five and a half feet radius will

make a sweat lodge. I got it all figured out, all we did is start digging a pit, putting up the lodges. We centered everything on the arbor. One line there, its centered all the way from the tree at the entrance, the fire-pit and one tipi, -it's all centered.

-What do you say if people, for example California Indians, say the Sun Dance does not belong there?

-Yeah, sometimes they say it doesn't belong to them. Every once in a while they might say that--some people dance in the Sun Dance but some other people don't like it. It's not their religion. I think it is good that they try those things. They don't have to participate. They can go there, and the main idea is, when they go back to their reservation, they could look around and think "What happened to our religion? At one time we had a--whatever it was--sweat lodges and all the ceremonies, they used to be here. Whatever happened to them?" And they start thinking about that, because they've seen the Sun Dance. So what they do is, they start researching among the old people. And some old person might still remember a little bit about this and that. So they might start building that again. That is how they come back with some good things, right now. But that's mostly what the Sun Dance is all about. People from different tribes get into it and when they get home, they at least set up a sweat lodge. At the same time, the way I look at the Sun Dance, is that we want to build some good men. That's the whole thing. If the whole person wants to take the Spiritual Way, and if that person is not really thinking that he wants to do that, -well, that person could go wrong. But if he really meant...It's all individual people, but a person should do what he wants. You cannot fool yourself. Because you have your own mind. If they really want that, they came out of it. Then they go back to their community and then they start showing things people have never seen in that person. That person might have used to drink quite a bit, or have been into drugs, or whatever. He might completely just drop that and be a different person, altogether.

-Yeah, I know it's happened with people.

-But the people that aren't completely opposite after the Sun Dance aren't sincere, they weren't sincere about it. They want to be this and that, but that's not what they wanted.

-Could you say something about the Longest Walk?

-I think the Longest Walk, what part I had in it, I think that was the greatest thing that ever happened to me, besides building the sweat lodges. I've done a lot of things, but they were nothing compared to these things: building the sweat lodges out at school, then I had a little part in that Longest Walk, and then on that Marathon Run (500 mile run). These three are the things I always will remember. I'm still into it. All of them. I'm actually like a protector of those things. If they are going to do it again, I want to be there to correct the things that went wrong. At least mention it.

-What do you think went wrong?

-Well, nothing wrong, but the things that could be done in this way and not that way, because at the Longest Walk we didn't. It wasn't planned. It's something that had to happen. So it happened. And it just took off from here. We didn't give ourselves much time to plan. We needed a truck to carry all the back-packs, we needed this and that, to get along with it. These are the things I'm talking about. And, in the meantime, we were misinformed by some people that we thought were either medicine men or spiritual people. We were misinformed. And as an Indian person, we'd go against it. So we fell into those kinds of traps, too. Those things have to be dealt with.

-There's going to be another Longest Walk this year, I understand.

-This one coming up? Yeah.

-How's that going to work if the Walk starts in June and the Sun Dance is in the end of July?

-Well, they could come back and dance. Some of them might even want to come back and be on that Run, too (c.f. appendix 2).

-So, it's not the same people going all across.

-No, not necessarily. Some of them, maybe two or three of them, will do that. I thought about a lot of things, like, what I was talking about. This time, I thought, we'd just go state by state. We could take something from here to Nevada. That could be a staff, maybe with an eagle feather on it, -so that's our part. We've covered our state. And we give it to some Indian in Nevada, Paiute, Shoshone, whatever they be, they could carry that across their state. I don't care how they do it. If they want to make it horse-file, walk it, or run it, or drive it. Then those tribes, whatever tribe they are, they could take something sacred and tie it on to that staff we gave them, or maybe make their own, and put it together. Then give it to the people in Utah, on the Utah line. The Utes then take it from there, or whoever it's going to be. Indian people--well, I'm pretty sure that's the way we all think. It will get to wherever we want it to, we don't have to send it to Washington, D.C. We want to go coast to coast. The idea was to pray with something here at the end of the land, at the ocean, and take that all the way and do the same thing over there. Whatever it is. We could keep it some place. Whatever it is, we could bring it back. Somebody could go over there and bring it back, and we could put it in an office of the Longest Walk.

There's another Walk coming up, I guess you know about that, uh? But I don't know where it's gonna start, or how it's gonna....In fact, I think on June 1st, that's when it's going to start.

-Yeah. That's what Dennis said on the quad (cf. Appendix 3). And they would arrive in Washington, D.C. on election day. That would be a parallel to the Trail of Broken Treaties, they also arrived on election day, I think.

-Yeah. So, this might go this way, the southern route. The Trail of Broken Treaties was up from Washington and that way. The Longest Walk was right through the middle of it. So this could be all the way along the south side.

-Touching the Gulf, even?

-Yeah. It'll work. I feel it'll certainly work. But then, what we are going to do then, before they start, all the stages will be set. If a person is committed to go from here, we have to get all the gear together. We'll get a truck, a pick-up or whatever it's going to take, because it's going to be a lot of people. So, we'll get all of that organized now for June 1st. In the meantime we are going to bring some traditional people, possibly medicine men, and we are going to sit down with them and ask them "O.K., how are we going to do it? How do we start? Are we going to take a pipe again?" We are going to ask those things. We have to really sit down with them and ask them for directions. We are not going to jump into that again. Well, who knows, maybe some of those old people might want to go along. That would be the best thing that could happen to us, if some of those could go along to guide us in everything we do. That would be the greatest thing..., if some of those old people went along. We'd start in the morning; we'd pray in the morning; we'd walk all day, then pray in the evening. But then, how are we going to put this down? Whatever we

carry, do we throw it up in the air, or something, do we put it underneath or do we put it in the ground? So, those are the things that we want to sit down about and ask those people. We're not going to jump into it again.

-So, is D-QU very much a center for this kind of thing?

-Yeah. D-QU..., people ask me what is so different about D-QU. I went to a meeting one time in San Francisco, and they asked me about it. Those people wanted to know what was so different about it, what was the difference between D-QU and U.C. Berkeley. To me, D-QU is altogether different because it's going to succeed whether they like it or not. It's going to be hard. But D-QU sits on a foundation that is built on religion. That's the difference between a lot of these colleges. People don't realize that, but that's what it is. That's how it's going to go, and it's going to get better, too. If we can do it without funds, we can do whatever we want to do.

-So there has been a change in policy, D-QU turning from an educational institution to a religious center? So the main thing now would be that D-QU is a religious center, and that the university is only part of it and may even disappear without affecting D-QU?

-You see, we are not pushing religion on anybody. O.K. that's the first thing. What we do out there--say, the sweat lodges and the Sun Dance--people would see that as coming from the north. They would come and see that. Like I said, we never tell them that they have to do these things. We never say that. But they will think. They watch, maybe go into a sweat lodge or watch the Sun Dance. Then they wonder about what happened to their own religion. O.K., that's the whole point of it. We are not saying "Come, and join us." That's what lots of people think. And, right away, they think "well, even though that's Indian religion, it's not my religion, it's Plains Religion." But that's not what we are saying. We would give them a thought, the thought is what counts.

-So, D-QU is an example to encourage people?

-Right.

-I guess, many white agencies see that, even if they don't admit it. That's what they are afraid of; that's why they are trying to close D-QU down. They know that D-QU is more than just an Indian-run college.

-See, there are a lot of Indian colleges right now. Indian colleges, but they operate under the system of the junior college. They teach nursing, welding, heavy equipment, -those things. So they are all right. They are not going to be bothered. D-QU is different. They want to put a stop to that, -and they are doing it.

-I know that the subjects taught at D-QU are very, very varied. There are those people who come for the religious or cultural side of it; and others come just for skills...

-Most of them, I think, they come for cultural reasons. And I know a lot of students there that never got into sweats or the religious part of it. They tried a little bit, but they never got involved in it. But once they get home, it seems like they are doing it over there. And that's what it takes. That's really good. It isn't that a person who is really involved here, then goes back and does that. Some of those kids I was really surprised, they weren't that much involved with sweats and stuff, but when they got home they started it. And that's really good.

-How do you feel about white people going into the sweat with you?

-Well, it depends what they're feeling, what their dealings with Indians are. It doesn't bother me. Once I go in there it doesn't matter who is in there, whether I don't like him,

or him, or him. When I go in there I don't care. That's how I feel...Some places in different areas people are really strict on that. They have their own reasons.

-Maybe the situation at D-QU is different, too, because there are, people from many different Indian cultures but also people from different other cultures? I remember the one excursion with a class, N.A.S. 1, from Dave Risling. They were invited to take part in the sweat and there were people, I think, from all races--Asians, Europeans, Africans--and we sat in a circle. I think that was a very good experience probably for all people. At least for those who had never been in that situation before (appendix 4).

-There's a lot of ways people are going to have to go back to. Those ways like, for example, marriage ceremonies (cf. Appendix 5). Indian marriage ceremonies are performed, maybe, by one person. The sweat lodges should be made by one person. In the old days, that's what makes good relations with other tribes. For instance, if I want to have a sweat lodge built here, I would send for somebody somewhere else. And I would ask him that I want a sweat lodge built, and I want him to come. No date set or nothing. And pretty soon he'll show up. So everybody could watch him build that sweat lodge, and they know how to do it, actually these people already know how to do it, but that's not the point. The point is, they have to make that person important, feel important, and that, like I said, makes good relations with different people. When he comes, when he does that, then he blesses the sweat lodge. So, the people, they all give him gifts and they put him up for two or three days and then he goes on home. He goes back to where he is from. He goes into his camp, he calls everybody around. He gives out all those things that he brought back; he gives it away and he doesn't have nothing for himself. That's what makes good relations with people. That's how people respect each other, and that's how people are tied together.

Pretty soon, this guy who went home from where he went to build the sweat lodge, he sends for somebody, too, to come over and do something for him. The guy comes, -maybe he's a medicine man to doctor somebody. He comes to do that. So the people around there, again, in return, give him all kinds of things, and the guy goes home. And when he gets home, he gives it all away. They're tied, bound together that way, by respect.

Now, the idea is, the people knew how to do these things, most of them. But they have respect for that person. They don't keep developing these people to do all that, because you lose a culture that way. So, again, some place else they hear about it, that somebody is doing those things, knows how to build sweat lodges. So they call him over again. They're all in a way tied together that way, and that's how things should be now, -even now. Now we do things, and they say, "well anybody can build a sweat lodge," which is true if you see one, you can build one easy. That's not the point. It is respect. Somebody from over there has to come and do this. That means a lot, -and that grows.

-When you do things like that at D-QU, you send for somebody else to come?

-Yes, I sent all the way. I built the sweat lodges. I figured I didn't have the right then to bless the sweat lodge. Even though I know how to run it, that doesn't mean I have the right. So I sent for my two uncles in South Dakota. They came and all they did was have a ceremony and bless them. That's all, that's what should be. In the old days people did things because they were asked. And nobody else would do it, but him. And the people, they ask them to do it. But not all. It doesn't work that way. That's where there are a lot of conflicts, fighting going on. That shouldn't happen.

They go back to some of these old ways and think about it more--"it could become some-

thing useful, in a way." And now I know a lot of people who are overdoing it with religion. They're overdoing it because people want them to think that they know something. They're on an ego trip. And that again ruins a lot of it.

And so, that's what I was talkin' about, -I had an argument with other people about these things. Before I do something here, I've got to make people know where I'm from, what I'm gonna do. Is it all right? It doesn't hurt to ask them. It doesn't hurt. It's not going to hurt me to ask them, to see if it's all right.

I had lots of problems last summer during the Sun Dance. A lot of things happened that I didn't want. The people are doing those things in the other areas at the Sun Dances, but I don't approve of it because I know what the old people are saying at home. So I ask them, "O.K., this year, this is what we are going to do." And they would say, "Okay, that sounds good." I usually have my uncles there because my uncles are Medicine Men, Spiritual Men. They can go in the sweat lodge and tell you what could, -what's gonna happen tomorrow. So I would ask them, "we're gonna do this, is it all right?" I don't know, we'll see. We go in the sweat lodge and ask those questions. They ask the Spirits, and in the process they would tell me. In the old days this is how they do it, that's how it's been done.

So in a lot of things we did at D-QU, we followed instructions out. Not because we asked. The Spirits said that that should be done. So we followed it, and nobody ever degraded it, or whatever it is. They never talked back at us because we did what we always have. A lot of people don't know that we did it that way. But people don't understand a lot of things you can ask in a sweat lodge.

I run sweat lodges that are mine. I get what I want: truth, freedom, or positive thinking. I wouldn't have no fear for any in there, for we know that there are Spirits all around us. Right? But I don't bring Spirits in there. Like my uncle and them would. Sing songs, -pretty soon you feel them coming in. But I can't do that. So I never go over there. If I want something, if it were really serious, I would call them. No, I'm not going to bullshit anybody, that I could do those things.

-Are there any other people you could call in case you needed help from a spiritual leader in a ceremony?

-No there isn't anybody. My people are all in South Dakota. There isn't anybody around here that I would trust.

-I guess you probably would have to stay within your Lakota ways. So you couldn't use spiritual leaders around here, because that probably couldn't communicate?

-Yeah, even though somebody be around in this area, some other people, -see, I don't know. I always sent for them. At home I even go over there and see them. It's better yet if I go over there and do it over there.

-Are there still some people who have such a status that they are approached by different Indian communities, like Phillip Deere or Leonard Crow Dog, who seem to be very well known. How come that they seem to be honored by different religions, different cultures?

-Yeah, well they believe in religion. I believe in it too.

-I've got one question that I'd like to ask different people, -something that Native Americans discuss a lot, and white people discuss a lot: "who is an Indian or a Native American?" How would you go about trying to decide?

-Let's start with the Sioux people, okay? I would say that an Indian is an Indian that I could talk to in my language. And I would say they should just ask the Sioux Tribe, okay?

Say, my Reservation on the Rosebud, they would take some traditional people, ask them that question, "this guy is from here, determine what he is." Now, I would go for that, and if they say "well he doesn't speak the language too good, and he's not too good in this and that, and he speaks real good English, -so that's what he is." Maybe, that's the best way.

-Occasionally there have been white people, or part-white people, who have been brought up by Indians or living with Indians, would that also apply to them?

-Some of these people they have a better mind anyway, okay? Some of those people, I think, they have a more...they're more Indian then they are white.

-So it's mainly a spiritual thing?

-Yeah.

-So, how would this apply to people at D-QU where they have come from an urban background, don't have ties with the people, old people, traditionalists on the reservations, but they want to go back to their roots, they go to D-QU...

-That person; if they say he's not an Indian--okay. Maybe so much time from there he has another chance to go back in there and ask them. In the meantime this guy will go back, study the language. I mean that's what it takes to bring people back into the languages, into the religions. You've got to know something, you've got to be back, before you do it. So, maybe that's how to push, people into languages. Make sure they learn it, year to year. Time comes, and he can take something, come back and take something, -try it again. Do you think that's a good idea?

-Yeah. What I like most about it is that the people are tied to their cultural traditions and people. They are tied to other Indians, like you said. They have a certain thing to do in this world, which is following a spiritual message. It's not tied to race. If they feel responsible toward that then they are Indian.

-Lots of people could talk to you, just questioning you, and they would ask they'll find, they would know if you would make a good Indian. A good Indian? First thing, you've got to have a good heart. You've got to have a good heart for things, for people. You've got to be kind. Those kinds of things. They know that, and they're not going to just find out if you can speak the language. They're going to go further than that. In fact I know a lot of people who can speak their language.

-Otherwise if it were just the language, then it would be like a college entrance exam.

-No, it's got to go further than that. I know a lot of Indians that speak the language, but they're white, you know. They got the ways of the white people, and that doesn't help anything. But old people, they know. Once they talk to a person they know their mind.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

THE SEVEN WAYS OF LAKOTAH PRAYER: 1. Purification Rite: Inipi Ceremony; 2. Vision Quest: Hanbleceya Ceremony; Sun Dance: Wi Wanyang Wacipi Ceremony; 4. Tossing of the Ball: Tapa Wakanayeyapi Ceremony; 5. Buffalo Ceremony: Ishnata Awica Lowan Ceremony; Making of Relatives: Hunkapi Ceremony; 7. Keeping the Soul: Ceremony.

Appendix 2

The 500-Mile Marathon 1980 is sponsored and organized by D-QU. See the two pages of a leaflet announcing the procedures on the two following pages.

THE 3RD ANNUAL

"500" MILE

AMERICAN INDIAN MARATHON

JUNE 23-28,1980

****

WE ARE LOOKING FORWARD AGAIN TO YOUR PARTICIPATION , SUPPORT, DONATION, AND OR ADVERTISEMENT OF THE THIRD ANNUAL "500" MILE AMERICAN INDIAN MARATHON.

THIS YEARS MARATHON WILL BEGIN JUNE 23RD (MON) ON THE SOBOBA INDIAN RESERVATION, SAN JACINTO, IN SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA, AND WILL ARRIVE JUNE 28TH (SAT) AT THE D-Q UNIVERSITY CAMPUS, IN DAVIS, CALIFORNIA.

THE PURPOSE OF THIS RUN IS TO UNIFY AMERICAN INDIANS SPIRITUALLY THROUGH MANY EXERCISES OF THE TRADITIONAL INDIAN VALUES OF LIFE, BALANCED WITH TODAYS CONTEMPORARY WORLD. INDIGENOUS TEAMS WILL BE COMING FROM ALL OVER THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS GREAT EVENT.

****

MANY TEAMS ARE NOW BEING REGISTERED. APPLICATION TIME LIMIT IS JUNE 14TH (SAT), SO REGISTER YOUR TEAM EARLY. TWELVE (12) MEMBERS, TWO (2) ALTERNATES PLUS ONE COACH OR TEAM MANAGER. REGISTRATION FORMS ARE AVAILABLE AT D-Q UNIVERSITY, "500 MILE" MARATHON COMMITTEE, P.O. BOX 409, DAVIS,CA 95616 ph. 916-758-0470

THE MARATHON COMMITTEE AGAIN SOLICITS YOUR GENEROUS SUPPORT AND PARTICIPATION TO HELP FINANCE AND COORDINATE THIS GREAT EVENT. SUPPORT SUGGESTIONS INCLUDE CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS SECURING "RUN" PATCHES, FOOD FOR RUNNERS AND CAMPS,REFRESHMENTS, CAMP SUPPORT, NEWS RELEASES, RADIO AND T.V. ANNOUNCEMENTS, SEND LETTERS OF SUPPORT,OR HELP ARRANGE WELCOME AND FOOD COMMITTEES. ANY DONATIONS SHOULD BE SENT TO: MARATHON COMMITTEE, DQU
P.O. BOX 409
DAVIS,CALIF. 95616

SEE EVENTS SCHEDULE

E V E N T S S C H E D U L E

****

JUNE 20-22,1980.....POW-WOW, THREE DAYS,CAMPING AVAILABLE, ORANGE COUNTY FAIRGROUNDS,SPONORED BY AMERICAN INDIAN CENTER.PH 714-828-4240

JUNE 22,1980.....BAR-B-Q AND INDIAN DOINGS,SOBOBA INDIAN RESERVATION,RECREATION CENTER AND CAMP. SAN JACINTO,CA, CONTACT 714-654-2765

JUNE 23,1980.....500 MILE MARATHON BEGINS. SOBOBA INDIAN RESERVATION. FIRST STOP NEAR SAN MANUEL INDIAN RESERVATION,HIGHLANDS,CA.

JUNE 24,1980.....SECOND DAY. STOP OVER NEAR KEEN, CALIF.

JUNE 25,1980.....THIRD DAY. STOP OVER IN PORTERVILLE, CA. PORTERVILLE COLLEGE.NEAR THE TULE INDIAN RESERVATION, CAMPING

JUNE 26,1980.....FOURTH DAY,STOP OVER IN CHOWCHILLA , CALIF.

JUNE 27,1980.....IN THE DELTA AREA, STOP OVER AT BRANNAN STATE PARK, RIO VISTA, CA

JUNE 28,1980.....MARATHON FINISH, POW-WOW AND CAMPING, FEASTING AND CEREMONIES, D-Q UNIVERSITY, DAVIS,CALIF. 916-758-0470

****

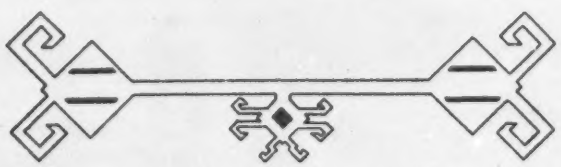
PREPARE YOUR TEAM NOW TO REPRESENT YOUR RESERVATION AND OR ORGANIZATION,SEND YOUR TRIBAL COLORS AND BANNERS ! ! !

****

****

!! SEE YOU ON THE RUN !!

FALL SEMESTER APPLICATIONS FOR D-Q UNIVERSITY AVAILABLE AT THE DQU CAMPUS. ASK FOR REGISTRAR AND OR FINANCIAL AIDS OFFICER,OR CALL 916-758-0470 IN DAVIS, CALIFORNIA.



Appendix 3

On April 24, 1980, Dennis Banks gave a speech for a World Hunger Conference on the quad of the University of California, Davis, announcing a Walk for Survival 1980 to leave the West Coast early in June and to arrive at Washington, D.C., before election day, November 1st, 1980 (C.f. pp. 135-138). Little more than a month later the Long Walk for Survival did set off from the California State Capitol in Sacramento, on Sunday June 1st., 1980, at 2 p.m.

Appendix 4

A report of this field-trip by a predominantly non-Native American class of students from UC Davis to the DQU-campus was published in *Third World Forum*, a weekly paper edited by minority students of the University of California, Davis. The article was written by Rene Aguilera, a Mexican student taking the class NAS 1 (Introduction to Native American Studies) taught by David Risling, Jr. The article appeared in the Nov. 6, 1979 issue. It is given on the following page (overleaf).

Appendix 5

It has been a problem, again and again, for Native Americans to have their ceremonies and acts be recognized by the authorities of the dominant society. Marriages in the traditional ways of an Indian tribe or nation were often not respected because their was no "proof" of it on paper (C.f. also Norbert and Theresa Dupuis' marriage mentioned on p. 120 of this collection.). For this purpose, the people at D-QU designed the following marriage-certificate document, which they have used successfully on several occasions, when traditional medicine people conducted marriage ceremonies out at D-QU. There are plans to design equally binding birth-certificates for Native Americans, and also a much needed document for older people to set down the way they wish to be buried after death, because, to this day, many traditional Indian funeral customs are prohibited by law. An appropriate, binding document of the deceased's wish could be the first step to overcome these obstacles (C.f. document on p. 118).

Field trip to DQU

By RENE AQUILERA

Dennis Banks, the Chancellor of Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University located six miles west of Davis, California, welcomed over 150 UCD students last Saturday November 3rd in what Multi Ethnic Program Coordinator Bob Matsueda contended to be "a great success!"

"I feel that the DQU trip was a great success not only because of the great participation but because of the greater awareness attained through interacting with the people of DQU," said Matsueda.

Banks, a Chippewa Indian and the leader of the American Indian Movement, talked for several hours on the issues of DQU's existence, HEW's inconsistantcy, the need for more volunteers to help with the university, rights of all Indians, motherearth, motherhood and the struggle to keep DQU alive.

"I know we're going to be here in 1985!" said Banks to the much enthused crowd sitting at tables.

Dennis Banks

Banks opened up with the history of DQU and proceded till Sarah Hutchison, first woman on the Board of Trusttees at DQU, talked about DQU life in general. Norma Knight, a teacher of science, talked briefly about a deadly plant that could kill you in six seconds and also about the responsibilitites that a man has to woman and and woman to a man.

After all this commenced, Banks led the bravest students down the road about 1½ miles where the sweatlodge purification was to be held despite the rainy, cold after[illegible].

"Since its raining or even if there was a blizzard the cermony of purification would still go on. The rain purifies the earth. In this civilization the sweatlodge is the oldest church. This is the oldest way to pray. It is older than Christianity by 2000 yrs. Older than Buddism by 2500 years. We use simple red willow and smoke the oldest tobacco," Banks said.

Of the 150 students, 35 participated in the purification of the sweatlodge. Many were afraid to participate, others were not quite sure what to think especially after Banks described what might or might not happen!

"If you have had alcohol or have taken any drugs during the last week, I advise you not to enter the sweat. Wierd things happen. We may have to drag you out!" he concluded.

With those very words of encouragement, everyone participating stripped themselves of their worldly goods and entered the sweatlodge when told. There were three sweatlodges in all, with about twelve persons in each sweat. The lodge itself is similar in size to an eskimo hut and by the number of people inside, and the small amount of space, it was quite crowded. Everyone was crouched to their stomachs.

In the middle was a hole dug deep enough to hold ten ancient hot rocks. With this, the Indian leader conducting the ceremony would pour water over the rocks to cause steam. Then the Indian would sing songs while the others participating chanted. Since the hut's inside was in total darkness, even if you opened your eyes you could not see anything. This atmosphere also made the scene very spiritual. You were able to pray about all those who are sick, in jail, or for continued better health to a loved one.

The rocks are the earth's oldest living thing and with these rocks steaming up you soon begin to feel the intensity of the heat throughout your body. You would sweat like a butterball sometimes in upwards to 200 degrees, depending on how often the religious leader would pour the water over the steaming rocks. Toward the end of the ceremony, a pipe was smoked and everyone was given the opportunity to take five hits. Everybody did.

At the end of the 45 minute ritual this reporter asked some of the participants what their reactions were to the idea of being purified to help others.

Cheryl Smart—"It was great! I kept saying to myself I'm going to back out...I'm going to back out! But in the end I gave in. It was fantastic! I'd definitely do it again."

Liz Vallance—"A definite spiritual experience. I felt so relaxed, after being so tensed, afterwards. I hope DQU exists forever!"

Calvin Hara—"Being with all those girls in the sweat really wasn't that great but overall my comments are general. Good experience."

Larry Lowe—"I feel really refreshed. I'm feeling a lot easier. And it made me feel more at ease with myself. I feel damn good!"

Mark Gordon—"Well, first of all I was glad to get in the sweat because it was pretty cold and rainy outside in my birthday suit. Inside, though it was a different story, I liked it even though it was all pitch dark. I thought I was going to pass out. I'd do it again!"

Karen Schwabe—"It was a totally synthetic experience. I mean all these

(please see page 11)

people praying for all their relations. I loved it!"

Mark Kendall—"I felt about 30lbs. lighter when I got out...I felt like floating in the air. Its nothing like being the resident director at Beckett Hughes. I'd do it again!"

Eileen Fritz—"I feel really clean and invigorated. I guess that's why its called a purification ceremony."

Hartmut Lutz—"Many people in the sweat prayed that DQU would continue on; so do II"

After the sweat the remaining students were treated to Indian bread and other delicious food items. Song and dance by Indians concluded the day-long festivities.

"I would like to thank those who participated as well as Dennis Banks and the other members of DQU, A special thenks to David Risling Jr., Native American Studies students, and the Native American Students Union, and all those that helped drive to the university," concluded Matsueda.

Upcoming evevnts for DQU are the DQU Benefit Food-Music with Chicano Studies on November 12th and 13th, 1979, and the California Indian Education Association Convention November 23rd and 24th, 1979. Don't forget: show your support!

Whenever possible visit DQU. You will soon find out that it will be a much rewarding experience. Try to attend any of their social events, dances, or just come for a couple hours on the weekend to do much needed volunteer work. You are welcomed by all the people and if interested, participate in the weekly ancient purification ceremony of the sweatlodge.

third world forum

November 6, 1979

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

TRADITIONAL _____ MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE

THIS LEGAL FORM IS TO INFORM ALL CONCERNED CITIZENS THAT ON (Date) _____ , A MARRIAGE WAS PERFORMED ON THE SACRED SUNDANCE GROUNDS AT D-Q UNIVERSITY, LOCATED IN DAVIS, CALIFORNIA.

_____, MEDICINE MAN OF THE _____ NATION PERFORMED THE CEREMONY OF UNION FOR AS LONG AS THE GRASS GROWS AND THE RIVER FLOWS.

_____ and _____

WERE HEREBY UNITED AT THE WEDDING ON THIS DAY.

_____ AND _____ PARTICIPATED IN THE PURIFICATION CEREMONY AND WERE WITNESSES TO THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY FOLLOWING.

TO ALL INTERESTED PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, THIS CEREMONY WAS APPROVED BY THE U.S. INTERNATIONAL TREATY LAW; TODAY'S U.S. PUBLIC LAW SIGNED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, JIMMY CARTER, AUGUST, 1978; AND U.S. CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT, FREEDOM OF RELIGION ACT.

NOTARY OR SEAL

Norbert Dupuis*

"IT'S AN INSTITUTION THAT'S BASED ON FREEDOM"

*Norbert Dupuis was born in 1937 on the Flathead Reservation in Montana. He is of Flathead, Yakima, Creek, Cree, and Kootenai origin. A former student of D-QU, he now studies at Tecumseh Center, UC Davis. The interview was recorded on April 15, 1980, at Tecumseh Center.

-I was born in Montana on the Flathead Reservation. My dad raised me until I was about fourteen. He was a frustrated person, he was an alcoholic. He spoke the Flathead language and he knew all the customs and everything, however, he didn't really teach me and my brother anything about our culture, nor the language either. Then, later on, as I got older, I more or less adopted his attitude of just being a drunk, and alienating myself from everything. I always hated the white people, and the BIA, and usually hated about everybody and everything. Little after, the natural place for me to end up with this attitude would be prison. So then, after a couple of bouts in prisons and jails and things I met my wife, Theresa, at the Indian Center in San Francisco, and, right away, we got along pretty well together. So, then we decided that we would get married. We decided that we didn't want to get married with a piece of paper and all those things that my dad dissapproved of. Anyhow, we didn't have any culture. So we decided that we would go to Washington. Up by Spokane they were having some traditional wedding ceremonies that kind of incorporated four or five different tribal cultures. So we went up there - it was a gathering, an Indian gathering - and then we got married up there.

Then we were both working at the Indian Center in San Francisco, and we worked there until June of that year; that was in 1975. Then the program ended because it was summertime and school was out. We were tutors for the Indian kids, we worked at their homes, with the Indian Center and the public school system. Theresa was pregnant with our oldest daughter, Earth Woman, and so we decided to get on and jumped into our old car and headed back to Montana and Washington and Idaho and around there. We pow-wowed around all summer and then we started thinking about some kind of long-range plans for the future. So, I put in for a job as an assistant director of an alcoholism program up there on the reservation. But then I found out that, although I was a Dupuis, which is a big name up there on the reservation, - anyhow, the people up there were more or less BIA-ized, - that I still didn't fit in because my dad had never- he'd alienated me from all my relations - like there, they were BIA people. I never knew them and I never had respect for them, anyhow. I couldn't get a job out there. And I tried several things, but I just couldn't get a job there. (I didn't want a job, anyway). So then I didn't have any way to support my family. So we came back and finally went back to California after Earth Woman was born.

There wasn't anything in San Francisco, either. I tried, - I applied for a job as a counselor in an alcoholism program and I just couldn't get a job like that, either. So then I was frustrated, you know, so I thought, "well" - I was on the verge of becoming violent and doing a lot of drinking again. And so I thought, well I'd better...

-When did you quit drinking?

-In 1976 when I came out to DQU. - O.K., then George Martin, he's a friend round here in San Francisco, and Sid Welsh - we used to all drink together - they're telling me about the Sun Dance out at DQU. Then I thought, "well, I know how to build arbors and stuff like that, so if I can't get a job so that I can support my family here in the city, - well, I'll just get the hell out of here and work there, you know, building the grounds and stuff." And so I went out there. So then I got dried out and had some sweat lodges. And I just worked out in the sun and got away from the booze and the drugs and stuff. And then I moved my family out there. And so then, after the Sun Dance was over that summer, then Theresa and I, we just stayed there and went to school. And so, I guess we lived there two years.

-Out at D-QU?

-Yeah. We went to school there and graduated. Then, well, we just transferred right over here to UC Davis.
-Ah, you got the "A.A." there and came right over here?
-Yeah. Then we transferred here.
-So, how many years do you have to do altogether, now?
-Theresa's got three more quarters and I got two more quarters after this one.
-So it takes about four years altogether? If you take D-QU and then these two years together?
-Yeah.
-And what are you gonna do afterwards?
-Well, I was thinking about going to law-school. If I can get into law school I'll go there for three years. Then, maybe after that, I can keep somebody out of jail, or something.
-You mean, working with Indian people?
-Yeah. You know, if I can get one person out of jail it will be worth all that law-school stuff.
-You said, that until you went to DQU, you used drugs and alcohol. How did D-QU help you to get out of that?
-Well, I just stayed away from them. Instead of going downtown to the bars, you know, I stayed out there. Then, that's been four, five years ago, now. Since it's being away from it that long I don't even have any desire to drink anymore. I go to bars and play poker. I can sit there and people'll be drinking and smoking dope. It doesn't even bother me. I guess, going to D-QU gave me some long-range goal. Some long-range goals and I can see where if I would drink then I wouldn't mind if I reached my goals. So, anyhow, I just don't have any desire to drink any more. I've been taking Sarah's counseling classes, and I thought a while about it. You know, there's a lot of Indians who still drink, and they have a big problem. It really *is* a problem. I guess the best thing I could tell them is: "Go to D-QU".
-You think it would help other people the same way?
-Sure. If they want to quit. If they don't want to quit they-re not going to make it, anyhow. But everything is there.
-Why do you think it is that so many Indians drink and it is such a problem?
-I feel that it is the same way about my dad. Just frustration. He knew his culture, and yet, what could he do with his culture? What could he do? I mean, how could he live?
-So he was caught between two sets?
-Well I wouldn't say...not that. But how could he survive on his own culture? He didn't have any other way of survival. He took up gambling as a way to survive. But he didn't have the strength not to drink. So he just fell into it.

.....

-Tell us some more about DQU.
-You know how they had all that HEW-hassling and the FBI-hassling out there? I don't know at all, but Theresa, and I and the kids we lived right out there. I don't see how the FBI and HEW can get away with what they're doing out there. It's obvious that HEW and the FBI is the enemy of the underpriviledged people. Then, as soon as the underpriviledged people start making some attempt to be independent, then immediately they want to lock them up. But then --- whom are you going to tell that to? If I walked down the street and I tell them

HEW is this and that, all they do is - they already got their cog, their place in the machinery. It doesn't make any difference. I find that the whole world is populated with people who are very ignorant. They are manipulated, enslaved, by their systems, and they don't even know it, - and if they do know it, they don't care. It's alright because they belong in there. Yeah, yeah, it's alright if they are manipulated, because, you know, they are right in there, that's their way, and they're waving their flag and they are right part of it. Instead of wanting to be an individual, free person, they want to be a cog in a machine. And so I find that it doesn't make any difference what country they're from. They're all pretty ignorant.

-Ignorant in what way?

-They want to fit in. They want to be a cog, a working part in a machine, rather than being an independent person. They're even proud of it, they'd rather be an institutionalized part of a machine, than be a free independent individual.

-Why do you think that is so?

-I don't know. Ignorance!

.....

But anyhow, getting back to the HEW and the FBI out there. What can you do about it? The more you tell people about it how they are the enemy of the underpriviledged people, the more you tell them about it, the more opposition you get. It's because you're attacking their system. There's very few people that have intelligence enough to understand that. You know, they'll protect their own goddamn system first and then look at human rights last. And, in fact, they won't even look at human rights.

Anyhow, going to D-Q, the main thing D-Q did for me is that going there I had an opportunity. I already hated everything, anyhow, and I used to categorize everything as bullshit. Then, D-Q showed me some principles and so I looked at the principles and said, well, these principles are *not* bullshit. This is the way it should be. And I respect those principles. So, from viewing everything as bullshit, then, when I found these principles, of D-Q - I don't know if you ever read them or not?** - , well, I said, what is this? And I found it is basically what my dad used to tell me. The way things should be but nothing is that way. Everything is bullshit, anyhow. So, then I started looking at these principles. Well, from there I could still see that how the majority of everything goes on in the world is bullshit. It's pretty bad. Because everything that I could see going on in the world is meant to destroy the world. Then I looked at the principles of D-Q and it's meant to protect that. This is the basic position of an Indian person, anyhow, he's the protector and caretaker, someone who lives in harmony with the earth. Everything I see that's opposite of living in harmony with the earth, I have to say it's bullshit. There's so much bullshit in the world that goes on - you know, all these elections and investigations and all this stuff, - all this is meant to destroy something that's built on some principles that are good, sound principles. But naturally, anything that has good principles, they want to destroy that. Because that's what they're doing with everything else, anyhow. Well, they got all these nuclear power plants and stuff. Everything is meant to be destroyed even by them. You know, they say they have it for power, but they're finding out that the radiation levels that cause cancer are so goddamn small that they're not even safe. Nothing is.

-Do you think there may be a connection between, say, people at D-QU and thousands, probably millions of people in other countries, in the U.S. too, but also in Europe, who try to prevent

the establishment of reactor plants?

-Some people...you know, a lot of people argue against reactor plants, and some of them understand why they should, and then, probably, some of them really don't, they just go along.

-I think that - maybe, that's back in Europe - but I think lots of people actually do know why they are against it.

-Well, there must be some people around the world who have some concept that they're gonna live here and their kids are gonna live here, they ought to start thinking about the future for them. What kind of bullshit are they gonna force the kids to live in? So, yeah, I think there must be somebody around the world, different groups, who have some desire for their children and grandchildren to have a better life. But I don't think there's very many. A lot of people, they just want more money. They think more money is a better life. That's true, like I would like to have more money for my family, but if I have to go to work for some nuclear plant and make more money, then, what am I thinking about my grandkids? And I would be helping the problem. So, yeah, there must be someone, some places, interested in what conditions their grandkids are gonna live in. How are they gonna survive with radiation all over, and how they're gonna survive in any place when bombs are falling, and stuff.

.....

The principles of D-QU...Well, if a person really wants to go to school there, take classes there, then - it's an institution that's based on freedom. That's its principle. Freedom is against the governmental principle. The United States government is not based on freedom. They tell you that. Look at their history. George Washington had slaves, so had Jackson and all the other assholes. Then they say: freedom of this, and freedom of that, in their constitution, their Bill of Rights. Women weren't allowed to vote, women weren't allowed to go to a university. Blacks couldn't vote, they couldn't go to a university. They didn't even consider Indians as people. And they didn't consider their own women as people. They used to enslave their kids in all kinds of "apprenticeships" and stuff like that. It's been bullshit ever since they wrote the constitution. They say one thing but they never meant it. It's all bullshit anyhow. Of course, I always knew that. D-Q just kind of reinforced it. Any institution that's gonna teach like that, - automatically they're teaching against the government. And the government is gonna try to squash them. So, you know, they've been trying to kill off all the Indians, anyhow, I don't know for how many years; they've been trying to make slaves out of everybody, for I don't know how many years. So, when D-Q says, "Wait a minute," and shows us exactly what they're doing - you know the history and all the policies of the U.S. government, of the BIA and the FBI, for hundreds of years, - then the government is going to cut us off. I am an enemy of the U.S. government. That's my enemy, and the BIA and the FBI, I don't like them and I never did.

.....

-Do you think that places like D-Q should be all over the country?

-Would be a good idea. Then, I don't know how you'd get enough money to run them.

-Maybe, it would be easier if places like that were right on the reservations.

-Yeah, that would solve the land problem. At least the land would belong to Indians. Out at D-Q they couldn't get the land away from the government. That's the biggest thing right there. But it seems like the land problem, - eventually, that land is gonna belong to D-Q. It already does, really, the government has the piece of paper and the army to back it up.

But, anyhow, it seems to me that this land thing - that D-Q eventually is gonna have this land, no matter how long it takes.

.....

-What are your ideas about the curriculum?

-I think the curriculum should include Native American Law, Federal Indian Law, because those classes point out some truths and the treaty history, the law history. Ghee, the curriculum always has been pretty good. All the classes are designed by experts. People who are involved in the truth-struggle for a long time; Indians who've been involved in the truth-struggle for a long time, they know what the curriculum needs, they're experts, they're truthful.....

MONDAY, JUNE 16, 1980 THE DAVIS ENTERPRISE, DAVIS, CALIF. PAGE 3

ACCREDITATION HOPES UP

DQU awarded $224,000

By MIKE FITCH

The outlook for DQ University retaining its accreditation, scheduled to be reviewed today, improved considerably late last week with an announcement that the school had been awarded $224,000, according to the college's president.

Steve Baldy said the grant was made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs under the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act. Marked for use for general operations, he said, the money probably will be available in about 15 days.

Baldy indicated that DQU's chances of retaining accreditation when he meets with officials from the Western Association of Schools and Colleges today in San Francisco are "much stronger" because of the award.

In January, the association issued a "show-cause order" requiring the college to show why its accreditation should not be withdrawn. Under the order, the progress of DQU on unspecified "stipulated items" was to be monitored and the case reviewed in June.

"I think we'll have a fairly good chance with the (association's accrediting) commission," Baldy said.

In addition to DQU's long-term funding, he said, the association was concerned about various allegations leveled at the school. The allegations have been cleared up, Baldy added.

The grant is for the current federal fiscal year. Baldy indicated that DQU could receive more than $1 million next year.

**c.f. "Philosophy and objectives of D-QU", quoted on p.26f of this study.

Ed McGinty*

"LEONARD CROW DOG AT DQU"

*Ed McGinty (Paiute) is a student of Native American Studies at Tecumseh Center UC Davis, and has studied part-time at DQU. This paper was originally written for a Native American writing class held at UC Davis in the winter quarter 1980. Thanks to Ed for letting me use this manuscript here.

On a warm summer day I woke up at about seven o'clock in the morning and had a cup of coffee. Then I layed around for about an hour before Roger arrived at my house to pick me up.

Roger and I then started the long drive that leads to D-Q University. I remember when Roger and I reached DQ we drove out to a religious sweat area. We got out of the car and I saw Crow Dog for the first time. He was a big man about 6 feet tall weighing about 220 lbs.

Crow Dog soon started talking about the sweat lodge ceremony. He started by explaining what some of the symbols of the sweat lodge mean. He also made it clear that everything had to be done properly because if religious powers are not used properly something bad will happen. After Crow Dog finished talking we all went into the sweat lodge to purify for a yuwipi ceremony. After everyone was purified we all went down to the buildings to start the yuwipi ceremony.

I walked into a small room and saw Crow Dog sitting on the floor. He was getting ready to perform a religious ceremony and as soon as he was done praying he placed tobacco, sage, sweet grass, small bones and a pipe into their proper places.

Crow Dog told everyone to sit around in a circle and then he lit up his pipe and then started to pass it around clockwise. I watched the long pipe go from one person to the next and I also watched to see how each person smoked the pipe because I didn't want to make any mistakes when it was my turn to smoke the pipe. The pipe finally reached me and I took five long puffs and passed the pipe to the next person. After the pipe made it all the way around the room the Medicine Man was ready to begin the ceremony.

All the light was shut out of the room and we all sat in silence for about ten minutes. During this time I sat there thinking and waiting for the ceremony to begin.

Crow Dog started to sing a song in his traditional language. He sang for a few minutes and then started praying. I sat listening to him and suddenly there were flashes of light travelling around the room. I felt pretty good and I suddenly had a very peaceful feeling overcome me. Crow Dog told everyone that the flashes of light were spirits that came to hear everyone pray. I could feel the presence of the spirits as they travelled around the room. The flashes of light stopped as soon as Crow Dog had finished praying. Crow Dog then told someone to turn on the lights and the brightness of them temporarily blinded me. It took a few seconds for my eyes to properly adjust to the new lighting.

Crow Dog sat in the middle of the room and talked to everyone. He said that he was going to talk with the spirits and then he would tell everyone what they had to say. He then started to pray and when he was finished he said he had talked with the spirit of an Indian but I can't remember who he said the spirit was or what it had to say.

The ceremony ended with Crow Dog blessing some personal belongings that had been placed in the center before the ceremony began. After he finished blessing the personal articles he thanked everyone for coming and the ceremony was over.

**Darrell Standing Elk, after reading this account, pointed out that there must be a mistake here. The Sacred Pipe is always smoked *after* the ceremony because one does *not* pray with an *empty* pipe.

Phillip Deere*

RED POWER

*This speech was given by Phillip Deere (Muskogie) at the end of the Longest Walk on the steps of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., July 15, 1978. The speech was first printed in *STRATA*, no. 6 (September 78), a periodical published by Coyote Flower, and I have taken it from that publication. On November 26, 1979, Phillip Deere had given a long speech to UC Davis students out at D-QU. I taped that speech with his permission, Joe Cattarin transcribed it from the cassette, and Kathy Tappel typed it. I sent a copy to Phillip, asking his permission to include the speech in this book, but he and his people declined my request, - so I include this older speech instead, which was kindly given to me by Jack D. Forbes.

We hear about red power. We talk about red power--there are many definitions to red power. Sometimes we refer to red as the blood, because all colors of man have the same color of blood. The fish life, the animals they too have red blood. Everyone has red blood.

But everybody was not made out of the red clay of the Americas, only the Indian people here are the original people of the Americas. Our roots are planted deep in the soil of the Americas. We are the only people that continued with the oldest religion in this country. We are the people that still speak the language that was given to us by the creator. Our religion has survived, our language has survived. Long before this building was built, our ancestors walked and talked the language that I speak today, I hope to see my Indian people continue to live long after this building crumbles. I see, in the future, perhaps, this civilization is coming near to the end; for that reason we have continued with the instructions of our ancestors.

We are the only people that know how to survive in this country. We have existed here for thousands and thousands of years and the smartest man here does not know and cannot date the time that we originated. This is our land. Regardless of how many billions and billions have been spent on the Indian to make him someone else--all these billions have failed to make a whiteman out of me.

We are the evidence of the Western Hemisphere.

We still yet walk across the entire United States to come here to present to you the problems that we have...

In the beginning of time when everything was created, during those times our ancestors also came in this part of the world. No Indian in these grounds will say that we came across the Bering Straits. There is not an Indian standing among us will tell you that we descended from Monkeys and Apes, though I sometimes believe that *some* people are descended from apes and monkeys...that's why, in the past 200 years, there are some people that do not understand what an Indian is; that's how come they don't understand what these eleven bills are all about. These bills attack human beings. We are the original people here. No one can tell us how to live here. No one is able to direct our lives for us.

We have forgotten in a short time that when the first white people landed on our shores they could not survive, even the pilgrims could not survive. The Indians showed them ways of survival. We taught them how to live. We taught them how to plant corn. That corn was a tree of life for us. We showed them that this is life here in America and they survived.

Not too many years afterward, they begin to tell us how to live; they begin to tell us that our religion is wrong, our way of life is no good. These are not the agreements that we made. This is not the treaties that we made with the United States government or any other country - we agreed that we would remain as independent nations, we would be sovereign people. It was understood that these people, the new people were seeking freedom, they can have their freedom and share the same soil with us.

We had enough room for these people, because we lived by an understood law, the law that we had for thousands of years. We had an unchanging government, the law of love, peace, and respect--no man-made laws will ever take the place of it, and this is the law that we've always lived by.

Because of understanding these laws, every Indian door was open to everyone. Through these doors walked Christopher Columbus, through these doors walked the pilgrims, because of

that love and respect we have for all human beings.

But time came after entering our door, they took advantage over the native people here. Their greed? We have seen it. Many of our people were massacred because of wanting more land. We gave them land through treaties. We gave and we gave and we have no more to give today. Not only land was taken, even the culture, even the religion under man-made laws was taken from the native people--but it has managed to survive, we continue with our way of life.

My elders, my clanmothers, spiritual leaders, medicine men sitting up here, we have no disagreement, we do not disagree on Indian religion, we are not that confused; we come to you with one mind. I have my brothers and sisters of different tribes here with me, but we do not disagree on Indian religion. I have never tried to convert the Lakota people into Muskogie ways. So, I look out here on every corner there is a church, one of them trying to convert the other - we do not come here with that kind of confusion. We respect one another's religion, we respect one another's vision, that's our only way of existing in this country here, that's our survival and this is our strength. Even though we are greatly outnumbered, our idea will overcome those numbers. A confused society cannot exist forever. The first white people who came here were lost and they are still yet lost, they have been so confused, so much.

We have to go on the green light and stop on the red one. We have been separated from a natural way of life so far that our government doesn't understand the Indian language. The people, the society has drifted away so far from reality. They will not sit down under a tree and talk to us, they will not even sit down in their offices and listen to the Indian. We have experienced this all this time, even in the local offices at home. Those that hold positions in the government refuse to listen to the grass-roots Indian because they have been so far away from the natural way of thinking. They have to look at a sheet of paper for directions from the higher ups, even their minds are controlled. To make decisions for themselves, they have to follow those papers and nothing real...

I am as I said, from the Muskogie tribe, known as the Creek tribe also. If you study your history, my ancestral homeland was in Georgia and it so happens that the President is from there, too. He knows why I'm here! The long walk begins in Georgia, in Alabama, in Florida; we thought it ended in Oklahoma, but it did not end there. So I have to take part in the long walk again.

Every tribe has a trail of tears, they will wonder when is it going to end. I want to see the time come when we can act like human beings and sit down to iron our problems out. We never saw anything about the Geneva Conference here in the United States. The press did not bring this out. Why? Documents were presented there so damaging and a disgrace to this country--that the Native people had to go to Geneva seeking human rights! Why does a native of America have to go to another country to seek human rights?

We believe in the truth; society follows facts; facts can originate from lies, but if they believe it to be truth, it's truth to them. You may want to know how many people I represent, I represent the truth, and I represent the future generations of my people. We will talk about the truth. We will find out the truth is hidden from the American people about the native people. That's why you never heard about the bills that are affecting the native people. The people in America don't understand what life is on the reservation. We have brothers who stood up and had the courage to face an unjust government. Indian people remain silent in their graves because of belief in freedom, that's why today they are no

longer with us. How many of my people will have to give up their lives before they receive their freedom.

We are not talking about the freedom that most of you probably know. We talk about the freedom that was given to us since the beginning of time; freedom to practice the religion of our ancestors, freedom to walk and go wherever we please, freedom to be who we are; free to bring children into this world as we are supposed to, which means sterilization is out. Genocide must come to an end. This is what we are walking for; this is the kind of freedom that we are looking for; and this is what our brothers died for; this is why many of our brothers are in prison today and this is why we have to have people walk all the way across this country seeking freedom.

We have to remind ourselves, this is not only an Indian problem, that's why we have been able to get support from the non-Indians the world over because they begin to understand and realize what's happening here. It makes me wonder if the Indian can be slapped around all these years; who is going to be the next one? Who is going to be the next Indian? A few years ago, black people fought here for what they wanted. On the doors they saw--"no coloreds allowed." We don't see it any more--because we had to fight for it. Today we see another sign there and it doesn't have to do with color. On that door the "no color" sign is not there, but there is a sign that says-- "no shirt, no shoes, no service."

The jailhouses, the prisons in this country are no more than 400 years old. Before the coming of Columbus more than 400 tribes, speaking different languages, having different ways, having different religions, lived here. None of these tribes had jailhouses or prisons, or insane-asylums and today no country can exist without them. We did not have prisons, jailhouses, insane asylums because we lived by an understood law, we understood what life is all about - to this day we are not confused.

In the future YOU will probably be the next Indian, if you don't be careful. After a while we are going to walk up to that door and there's going to be a sign-- "all the people with mustaches stay out." In the future, there's going to be somebody else suffering, maybe not as bad as the Indian, but he too will wake up and see that he has no rights, he too, will someday find he is not a free person either. We can see that very much like the shadows of the clouds that come over us today.

Talk about discriminating against the Indians, don't think that it's an Indian problem alone. Better wake up. You better find out where you stand as a free person. There was a time when Indians gave up their lives; upon returning home they found out that they did not have their freedom. That's why we had Wounded Knee, that's why we had Alcatraz, Pit River, and many other movements that you have seen and heard about. You better stop and check and see the cause of these movements.

The press has been unfair to us. The only thing they reveal is a young Indian boy holding up a gun implanting the idea of violence in American hearts. To this day when you hear about Indian movements you immediately hear violence. Everyone immediately thinks about what they saw in the newspaper; rather than finding out what was happening there; what were the causes of those actions. When Wounded Knee happened, every military, every armed forces that you could think of that the government had, except the United States Navy--because there is no water there, were surrounding this little bit of occupied land, occupied by a handful of Indian people. Sometimes I feel like the native people are a big threat to this country. Not so, in arms, but our religion is strong. We live close to

nature, we understand life and that's why we had Wounded Knee.

The time has come that we study Indian people. The bones of our ancestors are dug up. Their graves are dug up looking for the history of our ancestors, but the present day situation has not been looked into yet--and it's time--and that's why we are here today. No matter how many brothers are jailed, no matter how many may go down into graves, you may silence me by a bullet some day, you may put me behind bars, but that will not kill, that will not jail the religion of my ancestors.

The movement of people will continue; we have been made indestructible. In our veins flows the blood of the original people of the Americas.

THE LONG WALK FOR SURVIVAL

1980

WE ARE WALKING IN A SPIRITUAL WAY ACROSS THIS COUNTRY BEGINNING WITH A CEREMONY ON THE INDIAN ISLAND, ALCATRAZ, JUNE 1, 1980 at 7:00 A.M. WE WILL ARRIVE AT OUR DESTINATION, WASHINGTON, D.C. ON NOVEMBER 1, 1980. THIS WALK WILL COVER THE HISTORIC ROUTE OF "THE LONGEST WALK" OF ALL INDIAN NATIONS.

THIS WILL BE ONE OF THE MOST MASSIVE STATEMENTS IN RECORDED HISTORY. A GLOBAL VOICE WILL CALL FOR THE END OF:

* URANIUM EXPLOITATION ON INDIAN LAND
* NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT
* REGISTRATION FOR THE DRAFT AND WAR

A SPIRITUAL WALK FOR WORLD PEACE AND THE PRESERVATION OF MOTHER EARTH AND HER PEOPLE.

LET HISTORY RECORD OUR ACTIONS SO OUR CHILDREN WILL KNOW THAT WE TOOK THIS DESPERATE ATTEMPT FOR SURVIVAL, TO INSURE THIS WORLD A FUTURE, FREE FROM AN ENVIRONMENTAL TRAGEDY, WAR, WORLD HUNGER AND NUCLEAR WASTE. WE WILL KNOW OUR ACTION HAS GUIDED OUR CHILDREN MUCH CLOSER TO OUR GOALS. WHEN THIS CHAPTER IS ENDED, LET THEM RECALL A MOST DARING PEOPLE!

A.I.M. for Freedom Survival Group
2718 Florida Avenue
Richmond, CA 94804
(415) 234-5155

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Indian Culture Days talk

Heritage return urged

By MIKE FITCH

The solution to current crises in American society requires a return to a more natural way of life, one based on principles long followed by native Americans, an Indian spiritual leader said in Davis Saturday.

Phillip Deere, speaking to about 200 persons at UC Davis as part of ceremonies marking American Indian Culture Days, said native American youths are beginning to realize this need and are turning to their grandparents for knowledge of their heritage.

A few years ago, Deere said, "We were told to be Americans and not tribal people. In some way, Indians became ashamed of who they are."

Now, in response to confused conditions today, native Americans are looking to the past.

"The Indian people have become a proud people once again," Deere said.

Indian prophecies talk of this rebirth in awareness, according to Deere, and talk about "a strange people moving across the country."

"What was said was true and it came about," the Indian leader said.

The "strange people" turned out to be the hippies, who Deere said did not bring the spiritual rebirth, but were nonetheless signs of it.

For native Americans, this rebirth has led to increased interest in the traditional way of life, long kept alive by Indian elders.

Deere stressed, however, that all peoples, and not just Indians, have their roots in such a way of life.

The question, he added, is: "What separated them from that natural way of thinking?

"We lost that touch with nature. We forgot what it is to be a natural person."

Noting the "confused conditions" of today's society, Deere said he feels that drastic changes, perhaps caused by some environmental tragedy, are on the horizon.

"I would say that this way of life will come to an end, perhaps within 20 years," he said.

He lamented today's dependence on the fruits of modern technology and commented that happiness must come from within, rather than outside.

"You can rest assured that you won't find it in Washington, D.C.," he added.

Deere said Americans will have to live in harmony and cooperate to survive and will have to relearn simple means of survival.

Saying that American Indians taught early European immigrants how to live in this country, Deere forecast, "The time will come when the native people once again will show these people (today's Americans) how to survive and live."

He pointed to renewed interest in herbal medicines and natural foods as indications of a trend toward traditional practices.

People are beginning to see past native American cultures differently as a result, Deere said, and realize that a lack of material comforts was not necessarily a handicap.

"People were happy, people were satisfied and life went on," Deere said.

"This is the life we've been talking about. This is the life we've been living for thousands of years."

This life is based on natural laws, the foremost of which is the "law of love, peace and respect," Deere said. He added that man-made laws cannot replace the latter.

Deere criticized past attempts to encourage individualism and competition among Indians, saying that Indians were being stripped of their heritage.

Today, he concluded, a reverse process has begun.

Deere, a member of the Muskogee tribe, has spent the past four years traveling across the United States and in various foreign countries speaking of the native American heritage.

During last weekend's ceremonies, sponsored by the Native American Student Union at UCD, the Pomo Dancers, Grindstone Dancers, Maidu Dancers and Black Wolf Gourd Society performed.

Photo by Sue Cockrell

Indian leader Phillip Deere, center, speaks to visitors

Dennis Banks*

STATEMENT ABOUT THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT

*To date - April 30, 1980 - an interview with Dennis Banks never quite materialized. However, we began an interview in January but stopped after the initial paragraph, and I am including the short statement here, because it shows the conviction that AIM will always survive, no matter in what form.

The American Indian Movement will always be surviving, will always be functioning. Whether it functions as an organization involved in politics, in the education of our children, or whether it continues as a social organization benefiting the social concerns of Indian people, or whether we survive as a movement that is dedicated to correcting changes in the courts, rallies and political actions, such as Wounded Knee. It will always survive, one way. It will always be there. And I think it is important that we understand it in the context of history, that there must always be a movement, there must always be an American Indian Movement, there must always be individuals who are willing to protect the heritage and observe the culture of their people. That should always be, - no matter what race we are, or where we are from. That is what is so important in understanding the survival of the American Indian Movement.

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT

Indianer im Widerstand

Am 28.7.1968 wurde von Dennis Banks, George Mitchell und Clyde Bellecourt in Minneapolis die AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT (AIM) gegründet.
Ursprünglich als Stadtpatrouille geplant - um ungerechtfertigte Verhaftungen von Indianern zu verhindern - entwickelte sich schnell eine Organisation die sich über ganz Nordamerika ausbreitete und sich konkret für indianische Rechte und Verbesserung des indianischen Lebensstandards einsetzt.
AIM besteht heute aus über 90 Chaptern (Ortsgruppen) in den USA und Canada und wird von vielen außeramerikanischen Organisationen und Gruppen unterstützt.
AIM ist bemüht um Zusammenarbeit mit anderen Minderheitsgruppen, wie den Chicanos, Puertoricanern, Eingeborenen in Mikronesien und Australien sowie den südamerikanischen Indianern.
Seit der Gründung haben AIM-Mitglieder an ca. 300 Aktionen und Demonstrationen für die Rechte der nordamerikanischen Ureinwohner teilgenommen.
Außerdem richtete das AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT mehrere "Survival Schools" ein, in denen indianische Lehrer unterrichten. Hier lernen die Schüler neben Englisch auch ihre Stammessprachen, ihre Religion, ihre Geschichte;können ihre Identität finden.

Seit den Ereignissen in Wounded Knee 1973, versucht die Regierung die Arbeit von AIM zu kriminalisieren und zu behindern.
Die maßgeblichen Führer (Russel Means, Dennis Banks, Leonard Crow Dog, Clyde Bellecourt u.a.) wurden in langwierige und kostspielige Prozesse verwickelt und zum Teil mehrfach verurteilt. Auch vor Mordanschlägen wurde nicht zurückgeschreckt.

In zunehmenden Maße erstreckt sich Verfolgungskampagne der Regierung auch auf weitere Mitglieder und Ortsgruppen. Durch fingierte und falsche Anklagen werden die Mitarbeiter oft monatelang festgehalten und müssen durch hohe Kautionen ausgelöst werden.

Warum die US-Regierung sich mit allen Mitteln gegen den Kampf der Indianer um Freiheit und Selbständigkeit zur Wehr setzt, erklärt zum Teil folgende Aufstellung:

AUF INDIANISCHEN RESERVATIONEN UND VERTRAGSLAND BEFINDEN SICH:

90% des in den USA gefundenen URANS
70% der OIL- Vorkommen
75% des KOHLE - Vorrats

Leaflet published by a West German AIM-Support Group

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Dennis Banks*

WE WILL BEGIN THE "WALK FOR SURVIVAL" ACROSS THIS COUNTRY*

*At noon on April 24, 1980, Dennis Banks, Chancellor of D-Q University and co-founder of the American Indian Movement, delivered a speech about World Hunger and related initiatives in California on the "quad" of the University of California, Davis. During that speech, he announced that in 1980 there would be another Native American Walk across the continent in the manner of the Trail of Broken Treaties (1972) and The Longest Walk (1978). The public speech was taped and the part pertaining to the Walk for Survival is given here.

I have an announcement that might lead to hunger during a period of time this summer.

Most of us, in the audience, here, I know are interested in other issues around the world, and other issues that are affecting us here in this country. One of them is the draft, the other is build-up and stock-piling of nuclear weapons, and the uranium mining that is going on in the Southwest.

In 1978, American Indian people were facing termination, facing a termination of Federal trust responsibilities. The Federal government was attempting to negotiate through Congress the termination of treaties that have been signed between Native Americans and Congress. They introduced eleven bills which would have terminated the treaty obligations of this country to Native American people. And so, to call attention to that, Native American people walked across this country. We began the planning here at D-Q University and, of course, beginning on February 11, 1978, from Alcatraz and then coming to Sacramento in a caravan. We started on foot from Sacramento on the evening of February 11, 1978, and began walking across this country. Six months later, on July 15, the Longest Walk arrived in Washington, D.C. and we were able to defeat all eleven bills that congressmen and senators had introduced during the prior session.

I believe it is going to take that kind of action to generate more enthusiasm across this country if we are going to try and stop the draft, if we are going to try and stop the uranium exploitation in the Southwest. We know by now that most of the uranium found in this country and the active mines are on Federal Indian Reservations. We have a coalition of Native Americans who are working very hard to try to stop the mining from being developed, the uranium being extracted. And, of course, those of you who saw it on television last night, if you were awake, you might have seen a first hand of what it means in the Southwest to have the uranium, the waste, being left there on the reservation, and the very fine sand being blown and sifting across the Indian land.

Well, the Walk: we will announce it this coming Saturday in San Francisco that there will be a Walk across this country again. It's going to take, of course, more than Indian people to lead the country to show that we are trying to stop the uranium.

I want to say something about the draft in this country. I have a number of children. I have eight daughters and seven sons and I want to have to say something about the draft because it might mean drafting my children. It might mean them being influenced by this government to go across to some other country to fight a war. Well, basically, the very foundation of Native American people is to be at peace with one another. To be at peace with ourselves. And, yes, if people come to our land to fight us, to try to take away what we have, yes, we will all stand and fight. There is no question about that. But the whole idea of trying to raise the war machinery in this country because of the situation in Iran, because of the situation in Afghanistan, to raise the whole consciousness, of trying to send us back to a war-thinking community, of trying to get the flag and patriotism going again, as they somehow fooled us during prior skirmishes across the world, - I believe that we have to say something about that. It has to be stopped.

I believe another Walk is necessary, even if we walk, and walk, and walk. And I believe on June 1st, - I believe that's going to be the date, June 1st, 2nd, or 3rd., we haven't really decided on that date yet, but it will be June 1st, 2nd or 3rd. - there will be another walk across the country that will be arriving in Washington, D.C. on November 2nd or November 3rd., - we are trying to coincide the Walk arriving in Washington with the national election in this

country. And I believe that whoever is running for president, whether it's Reagan, Bush, or Anderson, or whether it's Senator Kennedy or Carter, I think we have to make our message clear to them. They won't come out here, so I believe it is necessary yet again that we go to Washington.

And that's why I mentioned earlier that it is a Long Walk. It is a hard Walk for anybody. And there is a time when you have to fast on the Walk. There is a time when you may not be eating one or two days. But if that's the sacrifice that you and I must take to save this country, - we all love this country, it is still our country, we still stand up and fight for it, we still stand up for it and, hopefully, some of us pray for the goodness of each other, so that the goodness will surface, - we understand that, but we can't become a nation leading towards war all the time.

It is true that there are American people being held in Iran. Both you and I would agree that they must be brought home. We agree on that. There is no question about that. But to raise the consciousness of this country to want to be thinking about war because of the events in Afghanistan is not in order. That's not in order. There is no need for us to be drafted, there is no need for a draft. There is no more need for us to be talking about war. Those senators - and, of course, there are a number of congressmen and senators who are opposed, who are thinking along the same lines, that we don't need a draft, and that they are opposed to it, - but, nevertheless, there is still that kind of talk. If those congressmen, those senators, and Carter wish to go to war, then, perhaps, they should lead the battalion, they should lead, be in the front line leading the charge! If they are going to lead the charge, I don't think that we'd ever hear talk about war again. If they are going to lead the charge, they'd never be talking about drafting. Then, they'd be wanting to talk about peace right away. So, when it's not them that is going to be leading the charge, they're going to be talking about drafting; when it's not them that's going to be feeling the uranium exploitations that's causing cancer, when it's not them in the mines that are dying from cancer, then, of course, they're going to be always talking about exploiting uranium reserves in this country.

Indian people believe, of course, in the sacredness of this Earth. And now, the elders are saying to us that it is a very dangerous time for us because we are tampering with an element that we do not know anything about. I don't know, but throughout my educational process, I've always been bombarded with phrases that as long as we are in control of the situation, well, if we control our communities, if we control this, if we control that, then we are on a good path. But we cannot control what is happening with the uranium, we cannot control the elements that we are tampering with inside of Mother Earth. All of the prophecies--I don't have to be religious to tell you of prophecies, Indian prophecies, but their prophecies are there - they say that when you begin to tamper, when you begin to hurt the womb of Mother Earth, it is a very dangerous time.

So, those of you who want to become part of that walk, perhaps, maybe ten people from Davis, - it's going to take you five months. It took Native American people six months to walk across the country. And then, last week, I saw in the *San Francisco Examiner* where about thirty, forty hikers are going to hike across this country, and they expect to arrive in New York City some time in June of 1981. And there was a lot of media around that. Around the, you know, there were NBC, CBS, ABC was there, covering a big media story about the hikers who are walking across this country. More media about the people hiking than Native American

people walking across this country to save our own reservations, to save our own people. But, again, you know, we are going to try it again. There'll be alliances across the country. We will announce the date. The exact date will be June 1st, 2nd or 3rd, when we will begin the Walk for Survival across this country.

ISSUE #2 June 12, 1980

the LONG WALK for SURVIVAL

"A SPIRITUAL WALK FOR WORLD PEACE AND THE PRESERVATION OF MOTHER EARTH"

NO MORE NUCLEAR WEAPONS

At this time the Long Walk for Survival is preparing for possibly the most hazardous and exhausting part of its journey, 300 miles of Nevada desert in which 93 atomic bombs were detonated between 1951-63 producing leukemia, miscarriages and birth defects in its wake. We will be walking days and running all night until our rest stop at Duckwater Indian Reservation. (See calendar)

Of the 350 people which walked out of Sacramento 160 completed the trek through the Sierras, sleeping in a snowstorm and are continuing on the Walk.

Grateful appreciation to:

Bob Frank & the people of Washoe Indian Reservation for facilities and hospitality.

Kay Cole and the Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom.

Linda Howard and the Yerington Paiute people.

Alvin Willie and the Walker River Paiutes.

Merlin Dixon and the Acaidi Cutta Elders of Walker River Indian Reservation.

Earl Livermore - Blackfeet Artist

APPENDIX

D-QU PUBLICATIONS

Jack D. Forbes, Kenneth R. Martin, David Risling, Jr. *The Establishment of D-Q University: An Example of Successful Indian-Chicano Community Development.* Davis: D-Q University Press, 1972; 10 pp.

Joshua Reichert & Miguell Trujillo (compilers). *Perspectives On Contemporary Native American and Chicano Educational Thought.* Davis: D-Q University Press, 1973/74; vi + 111 pp. An Anthology of articles on Chicano and Native American education, written and compiled by people affiliated with D-QU.

Heydar Reghaby (co-author and editor). *Philosophy of the Third World.* Davis: D-Q University Press, 1974; 180 pp. Anthology of papers on the Third World, delivered during a D-QU statewide symposium on the Third World in December 1973.

Heydar Reghaby (co-author and editor). *Blossoms of Life Science.* Davis: D-Q University Press, 1979; 172 pp. Anthology of papers submitted during the Festival of Science, held at D-QU in 1979.

Jack D. Forbes. *Tribes and Masses: Explorations in Red, White, and Black.* D-QU Studies in Colonialism, Racism, and Self-Determination. Davis: D-Q University Press, 1978/79; 120 pp.

Jack D. Forbes. *A World Ruled By Cannibals: The Wetiko Disease of Aggression, Violence, and Imperialism.* D-Q Pre-Print Series. Davis: D-Q University Press, 1979; 93pp.

All publications available from:

D-Q University Press
P.O. Box 409
Davis, California 95616

TECUMSEH CENTER PUBLICATIONS

Jack D. Forbes & Carolyn Johnson (editors). *Handbook of Native American Studies and Chronology of Native American History*, prepared by the Staff and Students of Native American Studies and Tecumseh Center. Davis: Tecumseh Center, 1971; 111 pp.

Jack D. Forbes. *Wapanakamikok Language Relationships: An Introductory Study of Mutual Intelligibility Among the Powhatan Lenape, Natick, Nanticoke, and Octchipwe Languages.* Davis: Tecumseh Center, 1972; 52 pp.

Jack D. Forbes & Howard Adams. *A Model of 'Grass-Roots' Community Development: The D-Q University Native American Language Project.* Davis: Tecumseh Center, 1976; 41 pp.

Jack D. Forbes. *Religious Freedom and the Protection of Native American Places of Worship and Cemeteries.* Davis: Tecumseh Center, January 1977; 24 pp.

Jack D. Forbes. *Racism, Scholarship and Cultural Pluralism in Higher Education.* Davis: Tecumseh Center, March 1977; 38 pp.

Jack D. Forbes. *American Words: An Introduction to those Native Words used in the United States and Canada.* Davis: Tecumseh Center; 1979; 115pp.

Jack D. Forbes. *Native American Languages: Preservation and Self-Development.* Davis: Tecumseh Center, 1979; 57 pp.

Jack D. Forbes. *The Papago-Apache Treaty of 1853: Property Rights and Religious Liberties of the O'odham, Maricopa, and Other Native People.* Davis: Tecumseh Center, 1979; 52 pp.

All publications available from:

Tecumseh Center
Native American Studies
Department of Applied Behavioral Sciences
University of California, Davis
Davis, California 95616

THE LONG WALK FOR SURVIVAL CALENDAR & SCHEDULE

JUNE	10	Mina, NV
Wed	11	Tonopah, NV
Thurs	12	Warm Springs, NV
Fri	13	" " "
		(Duck Water Res)
Sat	14	Hiko, NV
Sun	15	Caliente, NV
Mon	16	Modena, UT
Tues	17	Cedar City, UT
*Advance #		(801) 586-6859
Wed	18	Cedar City, UT
Thurs	19	" " "
Fri	20	Long Valley Jct., UT
Sat	21	Kanab, UT
Sun	22	Glen Canyon, UT
Mon	23	" " "
Tues	24	Page, Arizona
Wed	25	Junction 89
Thurs	26	Tuba City, AZ
Fri	27	Big Mountain, AZ
Sat	28	" " "
Sun	29	" " "
Mon	30	Oraibi, AZ
JULY	1	Oraibi, AZ
Wed	2	Keams Canyon, AZ
Thurs	3	Window Rock, AZ
Fri	4	Window Rock, AZ
Sat	5	Crystal, NM
Sun	6	Burnham, NM
Mon	7	" "
Tues	8	" "
Wed	9	" "

JULY	10	Shiprock, NM
Fri	11	Bloomfield, NM
Sat	12	Nageezi, NM
Sun	13	Cuba, NM
Mon	14	Coyote, NM
Tues	15	" "
Wed	16	Coyote, NM
Thurs	17	San Juan Pueblo, NM
Fri	18	" " " "
Sat	19	" " " "
Sun	20	" " " "
		Mo
Mon	21	Taos, NM
Tues	22	Eagle Nest, NM
Wed	23	Springer, NM
Thurs	24	Clayton, NM
Fri	25	" "
Sat	26	Boise City, OK
Sun	27	Guymon, OK
Mon	28	Elmwood, OK
Tues	29	Fort Supply, OK
Wed	30	Seiling, OK
Thurs	31	Canton, OK
AUGUST	1	Canton, OK
Sat	2	" "
Sun	3	" "
Mon	4	Hennessey, OK
Tues	5	Stillwater, OK
Wed	6	Meeker, OK
Thurs	7	Okemah, OK
Fri	8	" "
Sat	9	" "

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THE LONGEST WALK FOR SURVIVAL NEEDS:

* T-SHIRTS
* SOCKS
* VEHICLES
* FOOD
* GAS MONEY
* CAMPING GEAR

JUNE 1, 1980 - NOVEMBER 1, 1980

ALCATRAZ ISLAND TO WASHINGTON D. C.